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VISIT…

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MAY 18, 2020

TIME

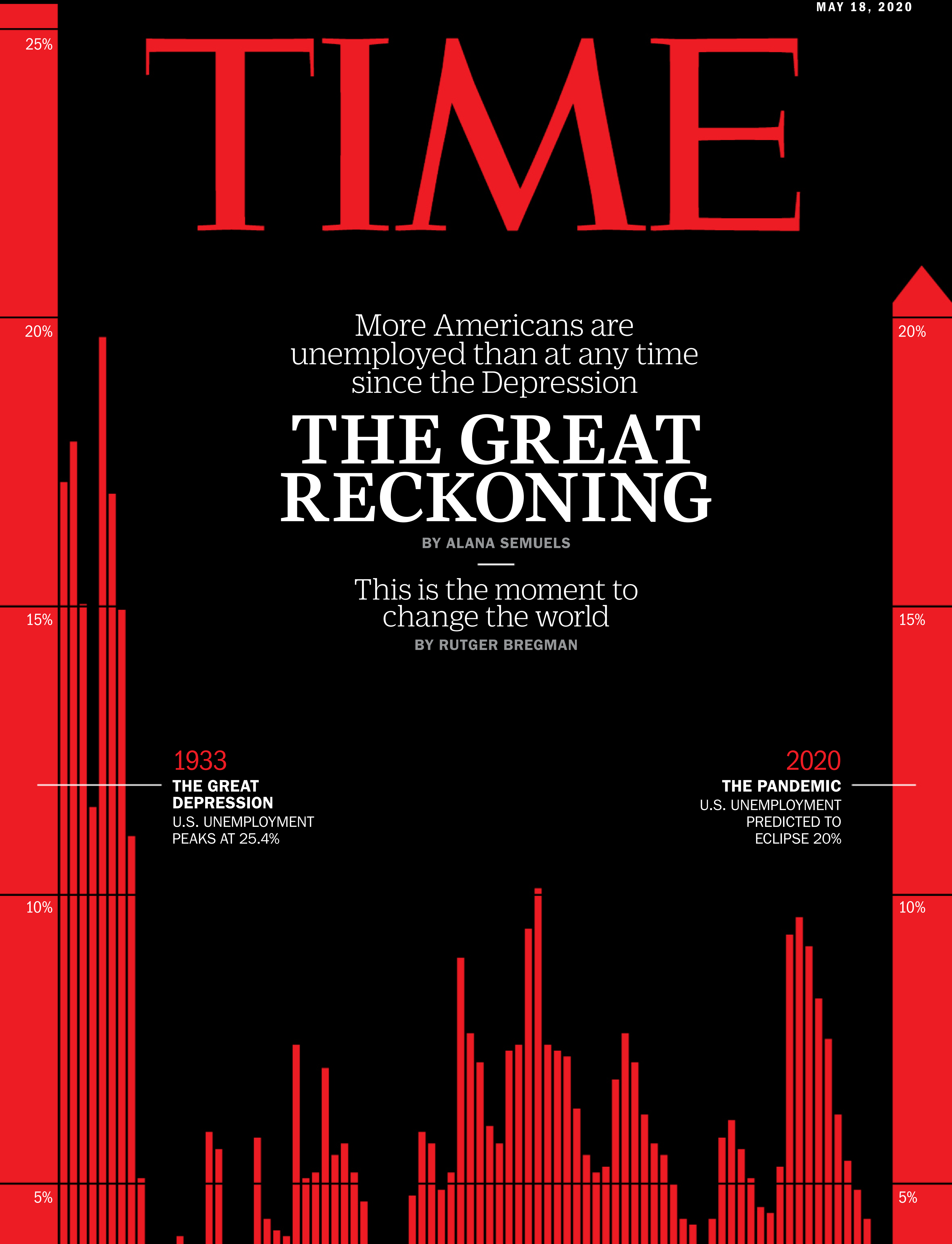
More Americans are unemployed than at any time since the Depression

THE GREAT RECKONING

BY ALANA SEMUELS

This is the moment to change the world

BY RUTGER BREGMAN



1933
THE GREAT DEPRESSION
U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT PEAKS AT 25.4%

2020
THE PANDEMIC
U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT PREDICTED TO ECLIPSE 20%

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TIME
VOL. 195, NO. 18 | 2020

Workers at Iron Gate, a soup kitchen and grocery pantry in Tulsa, Okla., which has served more than 1,300 households since March 15—an increase of roughly 40% from the same time last year

Photograph by September Dawn Bottoms for TIME

2 | Conversation
4 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

5 | Politics prevents clear answers on the **origins of COVID-19**

7 | **ISIS** sees a chance for a comeback

8 | The **weak link** in the food supply chain

9 | Bollywood loses **Rishi Kapoor**

10 | TIME with . . . *Top Chef* host **Padma Lakshmi**

12 | **Disneyland** without the crowds

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

15 | Health care workers **can be heroes** without being compared to soldiers

17 | Ian Bremmer on **America's advantages** post-coronavirus

17 | Pandemic **email etiquette**

18 | Belinda Luscombe on **not going it alone**

19 | Colum McCann on how the virus could **teach us to change**

Features

Without a Net
How COVID-19 triggered an economic collapse that has put millions on the edge of ruin
By Alana Semuels **20**
Plus: Faces of the crisis **23**

Viewpoint: This pandemic should be a pivot point
By Rutger Bregman **34**

Criminal Obsession
Locked-down viewers are devouring true crime. The families of victims are not enjoying the show
By Melissa Chan **36**

Bee Attitudes
Learning from Slovenia, where beekeepers are deemed essential workers
By Mélissa Godin **40**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

45 | **Podcasts** to help close the distance

48 | Television: Mark Ruffalo as twins in ***I Know This Much Is True;*** cool jazz in ***The Eddy;*** legal saga in the docuseries ***Trial by Media***

50 | Books: A new memoir from **Bill Buford,** a novel from **Anna Solomon** and poetry by **Jenny Zhang**

52 | 8 Questions for likely third-party candidate **Justin Amash**

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

FINDING HOPE Readers like Kathleen Cremeans of Oceanside, Calif., were “impressed” by the lineup of “powerful” contributors to the April 27–May 4 special issue, “Finding Hope,” which brought together members of the TIME 100 community to share their views on navigating the pandemic. “It was so inspiring to reach inside the minds of so many much admired people across the globe,” wrote Johannes Van Kampen of Ontario.

> ***‘The most informative source of alternative perspectives on the virus.’***
>
> **ALWYN MOSS,**
> Blacksburg, Va.

Beatrice Allen of Sun Valley, Ariz., was particularly happy that the piece by Representative Lauren Underwood (D., Ill.) recognized everyday heroes like letter carriers. And Jodi L. Niver, a history teacher in Wellsboro, Pa., said she would ask her students to read Mikhail Gorbachev’s essay about the world coming together in the wake of COVID-19, because it “serves as a great reminder of our responsibility to one another.” Michael M. Shapiro of Parkland, Fla., however, felt the issue overlooked an important aspect of the pandemic: the struggles of local news outlets, which are “vital, particularly in times of national emergencies.”

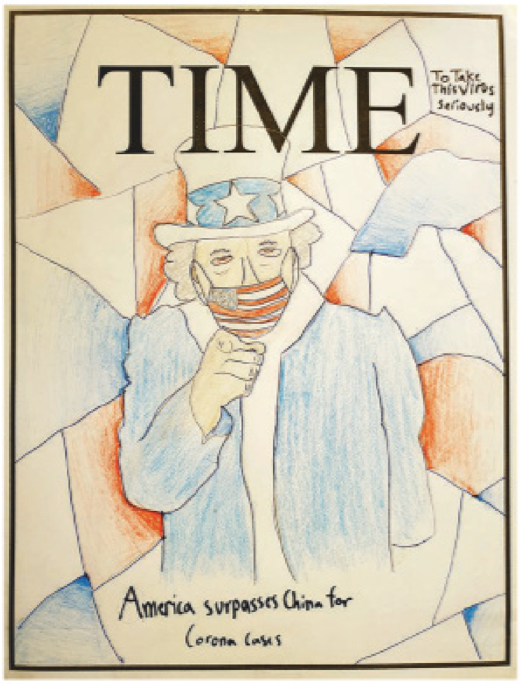
Readers like Paul Feiner of Greenburgh, N.Y., agreed that the time is now to “make the world a better place” than it was before the pandemic. As for how to get there, James Roberts of Fort Myers, Fla., suggested one key element: a “united world response to the current and future world crises [like] climate change.”

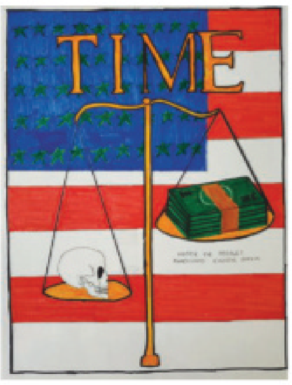
> ***‘Governments have ignored their duty to protect their people.’***
>
> **JAN OBERG,**
> Lund, Sweden

Covering TIME

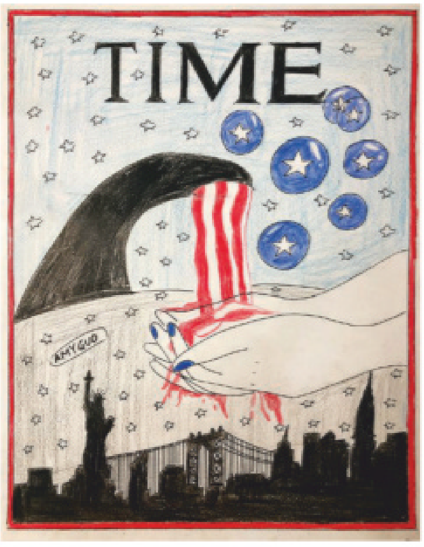
When art teacher Joanne Riina asked 10th-graders at the NYC Lab School for Collaborative Studies to design their own TIME covers—using the U.S. flag to “make a statement” about COVID-19—the results offered “a glimpse into how some young New Yorkers are processing their ‘new normal,’” as she puts it. Highlights from their work can be seen here.

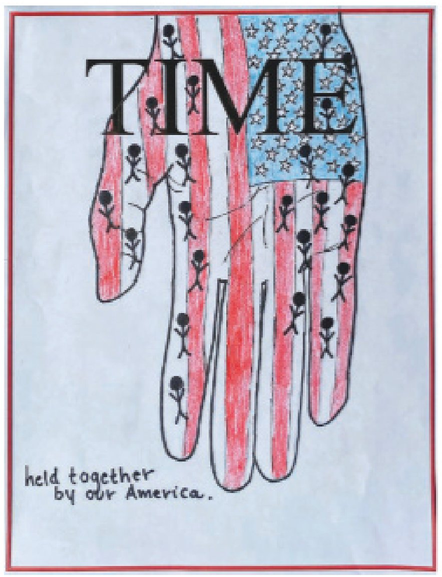
For younger students, TIME for Kids is offering another way to process the “new normal” with art: drawing lessons with creative director Drew Willis and kid sidekick Rosie. Find Draw With Drew (and Rosie!) at **time.com/drawwithdrew**





Top, by **Dexter Chow;** left, by **Ada Liang**





Above, by **Amy Guo;** right, by **Isabel Bregenzer**

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For the Record

‘We are fighters, and we’ll continue to fight together for this.’

ALEX MORGAN,
U.S. women’s national soccer team co-captain, on *Good Morning America* on May 4, after a judge decided against the team in the gender-pay-discrimination portion of their lawsuit against U.S. Soccer

‘IF IT WAS MY WIFE WHO DID IT, THEN THIS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A VIRAL TWEET.’

DAVID MOININA SENGEH,
Sierra Leone’s Minister of Basic and Senior Secondary Education, speaking to the BBC about the image he shared of himself attending a virtual meeting with his 10-month-old daughter strapped to his back

‘When that sexual assault happened, it was devastating. I mean, he was like my father’s age. He was my boss.’

TARA READE,
a former Senate aide who claims that former Vice President Joe Biden sexually assaulted her in 1993, speaking with TIME on May 1

‘I’m saying unequivocally it never, never happened.’

JOE BIDEN,
presumptive Democratic presidential nominee, addressing Tara Reade’s sexual-assault claim against him on MSNBC on May 1

200 gigatons

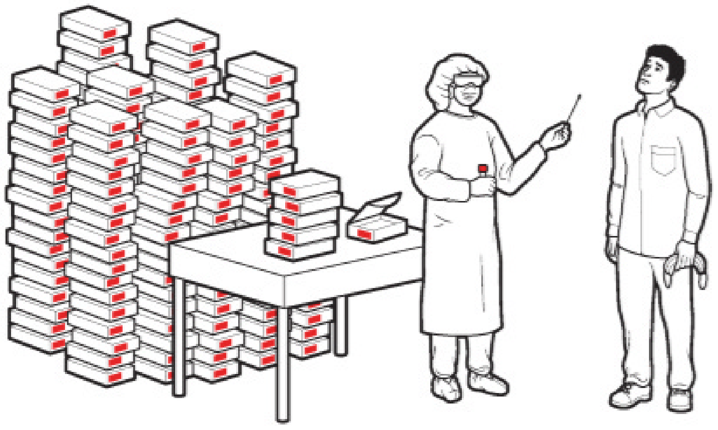
Average ice loss per year from Greenland’s ice sheet, according to a NASA study released on April 30

‘They always said, “Lincoln, nobody got treated worse than Lincoln.” I believe I am treated worse.’

DONALD TRUMP,
U.S. President, at the Lincoln Memorial during a Fox News virtual town hall on May 3

13%

Rough percentage of Iceland’s population that has been tested for COVID-19, likely the highest per capita of any country; businesses there reopened on May 4 following six weeks of lockdown



GOOD NEWS *of the week*

After a weeks-long delay because of the pandemic, South Korea’s baseball season began May 5 (minus spectators); the same day, the country reported only three new COVID-19 cases

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ABC, AP

The Brief

ORIGIN STORY
A push to assign blame, from President Donald Trump and others, has interfered with understanding the early spread of COVID-19

INSIDE

AN ATTACK IN IRAQ RAISES FEARS OF AN ISIS RESURGENCE

THE VULNERABILITY OF AMERICA'S MEAT SUPPLY

DOCTORS INVESTIGATE COVID-19'S EFFECT ON THE SKIN

PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO

INTELLIGENCE

U.S.-China tensions cloud virus origins

By John Walcott

IN NOVEMBER, U.S. MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE analysts began to suspect something might be wrong in the Chinese city of Wuhan. The CIA heard reports of a pneumonia outbreak. Satellite photos showed activity near hospitals and a drop in street traffic. Apparent medical communications were detected between Wuhan and Beijing. As activity increased, officials wondered if they might be seeing something more serious than pneumonia—something worse, and more contagious.

More than five months and 255,000 deaths later, the U.S. intelligence community is still trying to piece together the early spread of COVID-19. Along the way, those efforts have been clouded by inaction, politics, and self-interest from both China and the U.S. Rather than sharing information to minimize the virus's spread, Beijing and Washington have all too often focused on blaming the other for unleashing COVID-19 on the world. “The science is hard enough,” said an official at the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, who spoke on condition of anonymity. “The politics only made it harder.”

‘China has a history of infecting the world.’

SECRETARY OF STATE MIKE POMPEO,
to ABC News on May 3

In early January, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) mentioned the apparent outbreak in Wuhan in President Donald Trump's daily intelligence brief, say two officials who helped compile it. Neither the President, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo nor other top officials who get the briefs requested further information. What intelligence and health experts could not tell the President then, and are still trying to figure out today, is where the virus came from—and whether there's someone to blame. In late December, Beijing said it first detected a new form of pneumonia in an open-air market selling seafood and wild animals in Wuhan, where it presumably arrived via either an animal or a human host. Some scientists say it first appeared earlier elsewhere in the region.

POLITICIANS IN WASHINGTON and Beijing have been quick to fill the information vacuum. On Feb. 16, Arkansas Senator Tom Cotton tweeted several hypotheses on how the virus might have originated, including that it was an engineered “bioweapon” released in “an accidental breach.” He also floated the idea that it could have been deliberately released—“very unlikely, but shouldn't rule out till the evidence is in,” he wrote. Similar theories, for which there is no evidence, have spread on social media.

China's ambassador to the U.S. has called the bioweapon theory “harmful” and “dangerous.” On March 12, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian escalated the blame game with a tweet implying that the disease first traveled to Wuhan with American soldiers. China also used social media to escalate the conflict, blaming the U.S. for the outbreak in Canada.

As the pandemic has battered the U.S. economy, Trump and his team have pressed intelligence and medical officials to investigate whether COVID-19 escaped from the Wuhan Institute of Virology, a lab where, according to U.S. officials, scientists study diseases carried by bats.

Reports of that pressure appeared in the New York *Times* on April 30—the same day Trump claimed at a White House briefing that he'd seen evidence he was not allowed to reveal that the virus came from a Wuhan lab. Pompeo followed suit, telling ABC News on May 3 that there was “enormous evidence” that the virus “came from that laboratory in Wuhan” and that China has a history of exposing the world to viruses, a trope that has fanned anti-Asian sentiment. China has denied the virus escaped from a lab. On May 6, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said Pompeo had no evidence, despite his claims.

In fact, U.S. intelligence officials have already investigated and dismissed claims the virus was “man-made or genetically modified,” according to ODNI, although they have not ruled out its accidental release from a lab. There are well-documented ways in which China has hindered the world's ability to fight the virus, like silencing whistle-blowers. But U.S. officials involved in the effort to find the virus's origins, which was first detailed in the *Times* and the Washington *Post*, tell TIME that the only evidence pointing to the Wuhan lab is circumstantial. Satellites, human sources and communications intercepts have not detected unusual activity that would suggest a cleanup, lockdown, investigation or purge at the Wuhan Institute of Virology or the Wuhan Center for Disease Control and Prevention.

Ultimately, it may be impossible to prove that the virus didn't escape from the Wuhan laboratory. Even the most secure labs are not immune to leaks. “Could it have originated in the lab? Sure. Can you prove it didn't? Nope,” says one government scientist involved in the effort to track COVID-19's origins. “That gives politicians a lot of rope to play with.”

But to some members of the U.S. intelligence community, the war of words between Washington and Beijing feels uncomfortably familiar. The Administration's persistent efforts to pin the blame on a Chinese lab bring to mind the Bush Administration's demands for intelligence that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, two intelligence officials said. “It was a mistake to bow to political pressure then,” said one, “and it would be a mistake now.” ☐

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; POMPEO: MANDEL NGAN—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; INDIA: RAJANISH KAKADE—AP

GIVING THANKS Health care workers in Mumbai, located in the Indian state hit worst by COVID-19, are showered with flower petals from a helicopter on May 3 as part of a day of appreciation by the armed forces, which also included flyovers and naval displays. Two days earlier, the Indian government announced that lockdown would continue for at least two more weeks, with some relaxations in low-risk areas. As of May 5, India had confirmed 49,391 cases and 1,694 deaths.

THE BULLETIN

With the world preoccupied, ISIS sees an opening

WHEN ISIS MILITANTS LED A COORDINATED overnight assault that killed 10 Iraqi paramilitary members on May 1, it was the latest attack in a rising tide of violence across Iraq, suggesting the group is mounting a resurgence less than three years after it was routed from Mosul. Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the U.S. troop drawdown and Iraq's internal political crisis, experts say ISIS is exploiting security gaps—and shifting its tactics from intimidation and assassination to more sophisticated techniques.

GLOBAL REACH ISIS continues to pose a threat far beyond its heartland in Iraq and Syria, where it is waging insurgencies. With the pandemic reducing the capacity of many security forces, ISIS affiliates have conducted operations in Afghanistan, West Africa, Central Africa, Southeast Asia and elsewhere; an attack was thwarted in Germany, while an ISIS supporter rammed his vehicle into police in France. (In the U.S., intelligence shows that far-right groups pose a greater threat to homeland security.)

PROPAGANDA Widespread fear and isolation caused by the pandemic creates "conditions very well suited to recruitment," says Rita Katz, a co-founder of the extremism monitor SITE Intelligence. ISIS has blamed COVID-19 on "crusader nations" in Europe and Shi'ite "polytheists" in Iran. When Ramadan began in April, ISIS called for more attacks in the West and ramped up dissemination of English-language content.

GAINING STRENGTH The pandemic itself is unlikely to seriously aid ISIS, says Seth G. Jones of the Center for Strategic and International Studies—but its ranks could swell if imprisoned jihadists are able to rejoin. Since the U.S. began pulling troops from northeast Syria in October, Kurdish forces have struggled to guard some 10,000 ISIS detainees; a local coronavirus outbreak could further jeopardize their control. And in countries that have failed to address the causes of extremism, grievances that arise during the pandemic may well allow ISIS to flourish once more. —JOSEPH HINCKS

NEWS TICKER

Tribes sue Treasury over COVID-19 aid

A group of Native American tribes filed a lawsuit on April 30 over the Treasury Department's failure to distribute **$8 billion in COVID-19 relief** meant for them. The delay is partly due to a clash over the tribal governments' claim that Alaska Native corporations shouldn't be eligible for funds.

Microbe stops malaria, scientists say

Researchers from Kenya and the U.K. discovered a new microbe that **prevents mosquitoes from being infected with malaria,** per a study published May 4 in the journal *Nature.* The scientists said it has "enormous" potential to stop a disease that kills more than 400,000 people a year, mostly children.

Mississippi finds massive misspending

More than **$94 million in federal poverty aid** distributed over three years by a Mississippi agency was misspent or not properly documented, according to a May 4 state audit. Lax oversight by the agency's former director enabled two nonprofits to spend money on luxury cars, lobbyists and concerts, according to the report.

GOOD QUESTION

How long will meat shortages last?

THIS WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A BIG YEAR FOR the U.S. meat industry. As recently as February, a USDA livestock analyst predicted record production, as economic growth boosted demand. Then came COVID-19. By late April, Tyson Foods, one of America's biggest meat and poultry producers, warned in full-page ads that the "food supply chain is breaking." On May 5, after some Wendy's customers noticed a lack of hamburgers, the fast-food chain said certain menu items could be in "short supply" at some restaurants.

The novel coronavirus has made it increasingly hard to convert America's ample supply of animals raised for meat production into items like store-ready packs of pork chops or ground beef, as meat-processing companies have paused operations at a number of plants where workers have tested positive for COVID-19. According to a May 4 USDA report, beef and pork production were both down roughly 35% year over year. With no end in sight for the pandemic, could the same be true for meat shortages?

Mostly empty shelves in the poultry section at a supermarket in Atlanta on May 5

Glynn Tonsor, a professor in the department of agricultural economics at Kansas State University, thinks things will start to improve by June as plants adjust to a COVID-19 world, though prices could stay high longer. But David Anderson, a professor and extension economist in the department of agricultural economics at Texas A&M University, says supply issues could linger for a year or more, with prices up for at least the rest of 2020.

In an effort to curb the problem, President Donald Trump signed an Executive Order April 28 to motivate meat and poultry plants to stay open. But while companies say they're trying to find ways to keep employees safe, if workers fall ill or are too worried for their safety to return, it won't matter if plants are open.

There is one deadline many are likely watching: Election Day. If shortages last until November, the stakes may go beyond the dining room. Meat has major symbolic value for many Americans, says Joshua Specht, author of *Red Meat Republic: A Hoof-to-Table History of How Beef Changed America.* Its rarity signals that COVID-19 is upending life as we have known it. Trump's Executive Order, Specht says, shows recognition that "this is the kind of thing that could have serious political consequences." —TARA LAW

HEALTH

Looking to the skin for signs of COVID-19

Dermatologists around the world are gathering data on what may be a largely overlooked set of symptoms of COVID-19: skin conditions.

COVID-19 is known for its wide array of symptoms, from cough to loss of smell, and its effects on the skin seem equally varied. Dermatologists have observed rashes, hives and blisters—and perhaps most notably, a frostbite-like condition nicknamed "COVID toes." Well over 100 cases of this affliction—characterized by purple, bruise-like bumps—have been recorded in a COVID-19 symptom registry kept by the American Academy of Dermatology.

Dr. Alisa Femia, director of inpatient dermatology at NYU Langone, says she's seeing COVID toes fairly frequently, often among people with few other symptoms. But despite the name, it's not clear coronavirus is causing the issue. Many people with the condition haven't gotten tested for COVID-19 since they are not sick enough to require intensive medical attention, making it impossible to be sure their ailment is linked to the virus. There are also other triggers that could cause similar issues. "Everybody's looking at things through COVID goggles right now," Femia says. "You have to have a skeptical eye."

For now, all findings about dermatologic reactions to COVID-19 are preliminary. But Femia says people who develop unusual skin conditions should use telemedicine to consult a dermatologist, who can help them sort out whether those may be related to COVID-19 and a reason to self-isolate.

—Jamie Ducharme

NEWS TICKER

Venezuela detains two Americans

Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro said May 4 that security officials have detained two U.S. citizens who were among a group of "mercenaries" involved in a **failed coup attempt on May 3.** He blamed the attack on the U.S. and Colombia, both of which denied involvement.

Giant hornets threaten U.S. bees

Officials are bracing for a spring emergence of Asian giant hornets in the Northwest after the invasive species was spotted for the first time in the U.S. in December. The insects, known sometimes as "murder hornets," **could devastate U.S. bee colonies,** as the hornets—during their so-called slaughter phase—have been known to attack hives.

Russian medics fall from windows

Three frontline **medical workers have fallen from hospital windows in Russia since April 24,** highlighting the working conditions and pressures on doctors during the coronavirus pandemic. Two doctors died, and one, who fell on May 2, remains hospitalized. The incidents are being investigated by Russian authorities.

MEAT SHELVES: JEFF AMY—AP; SHULA: GEORGE WIDMAN—AP; KAPOOR: DINODIA PHOTOS/ALAMY

Milestones

DIED

Don Shula

Winningest coach of a perfect team

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MIAMI Dolphins lost Super Bowl VI to the Dallas Cowboys, Miami coach Don Shula, who died on May 4 at 90, implored his team to remember that sick feeling. Dallas had walloped the Fins, 24-3. From that moment, Shula told his players, they'd embark on a mission to erase that pain.

The Dolphins returned to training camp motivated: they finished that 1972 season 14-0 and became the first—and still only—team to win the Super Bowl with a perfect record. "It's not that there weren't more talented football teams during the history of the league," says Larry Csonka, Hall of Fame fullback for the '72 Dolphins. "It's they were never coached any better than we were coached that year. Don Shula *was* the '72 season."

Shula, the son of a Lake Erie fisherman, considered the priesthood—but a subpar singing voice and a fondness for football persuaded him to forgo the collar. He won a record 347 games in his 33 years as an NFL head coach, for the Baltimore Colts and the Dolphins. He won back-to-back Super Bowls with the Dolphins in the '70s, and reached two more title games in the '80s. In his 26 seasons in Miami, from 1970 through 1995, he finished under .500 just twice.

The impossibly tanned, square-jawed Shula often seemed invincible. One of his former players, Bubba Smith, once joked that if a nuclear bomb dropped, only Shula and Astroturf would survive. Shula, who has a South Florida expressway named in his honor, remained a fixture in the area in retirement. Says Csonka: "It's going to be a good deal lonelier in Miami."

—SEAN GREGORY

DIED

Rishi Kapoor

Bollywood idol

By Priyanka Chopra Jonas

THE KAPOORS ARE INDIAN CINEMA'S first family, but Rishi Kapoor, who died April 30 at 67, forged his own path. From his first leading role, in 1973's *Bobby,* he ushered in a new era of romance in Hindi movies. He was mischievous, rebellious, passionate—and he made falling in love seem so easy. His extraordinary smile made his fans go weak in the knees. When he danced, he made us all want to jump up and join.

In the later part of his career, he began to experiment, taking on characters far removed from those of his earlier films. I had the privilege of working with him in *Agneepath,* in which he played the antagonist, someone to hate rather than love. The versatility of this genial man will never be experienced again, but his contribution to the world of films will inspire generations to come.

To your family, Neetu Ma'am, Riddhima and Ranbir: the world grieves with you. Farewell, Chintu uncle—and thank you for the magic. Hindi cinema will never be the same.

***Chopra Jonas** is an award-winning actor*

Kapoor, here in 1989, won his first Filmfare Award—a top Bollywood honor—in 1974

DIED
Actor **Sam Lloyd,** known for his role on *Scrubs,* on April 30, at 56.
> Afrobeat pioneer **Tony Allen,** on April 30, at 79.

PROJECTED
That by 2070, more than **3 billion people** may be living in places with temperatures similar to those in the hottest parts of the Sahara, per a May 4 study.

PLEDGED
More than **$8 billion,** for coronavirus research, by around 40 countries and other donors, at a virtual conference, on May 4.

LIVESTREAMED
A **Supreme Court oral argument,** for the first time ever, on May 4, because of concerns over COVID-19.

ANNOUNCED
That **Carnival Cruise Line** plans to restart sailing from North American ports in August, by the company, on May 4—three days after a House committee asked to see documents on its pandemic response.

WON
The 2020 Pulitzer Prize for fiction, by **Colson Whitehead**'s *The Nickel Boys.*

Cooking in quarantine with *Top Chef* host **Padma Lakshmi** means tasting many nations

By Eliana Dockterman

ONCE QUOTIDIAN ASPECTS OF OUR LIVES CAN now feel like high-concept challenges thought up by malicious reality TV show producers. Dating without being able to touch is akin to *Love Is Blind*. Jockeying for the last few canned goods at the grocery store compares to *Supermarket Sweep*. And trying to cook over Zoom video chat with Padma Lakshmi feels like a Quickfire Challenge on *Top Chef*, the Emmy-winning reality show that Lakshmi has hosted for more than a decade.

That show is airing a highly anticipated all-star season right now, featuring the best competitors from years past. But rather than promoting the series, Lakshmi is stuck in her house like the rest of us. She's been filling her time filming popular home-cooking Instagram videos with her daughter. "Television fetishizes food," says Lakshmi. "We love to linger on these shots of Kobe beef. This moment will hopefully be a return to home cooking. Beans are looking pretty sexy now, huh?"

I want to cook with Lakshmi over Zoom, but coordinating our ingredients is an impossible task: in New York, grocery deliveries must be ordered days in advance, and even then some foods will be out of stock. So I watch Lakshmi cook, take copious notes and later try to replicate the results at home.

The pandemic is driving people inside and into their kitchens. Google searches for *online cooking classes* shot up by a factor of 15 from mid-February to mid-April. A recent survey from marketing firm Hunter found that 54% of people are cooking more than before the pandemic, and 75% say they feel more confident in the kitchen. Just over half of the people surveyed said they plan to cook more at home even once social distancing ends. For proof, look no further than social media, where home cooks are nursing their sourdough starters as tenderly as newborns and exchanging tips on how to grow a new stalk of scallions from old bulbs in a jar.

The newfound interest in home cooking has been driven by boredom and necessity. But in times of uncertainty, we find ourselves increasingly drawn to the certainties of cooking in a moment of chaos: it is a concrete truth that if I see bubbles in the pancake batter, it's time to flip the pancake.

Lakshmi, too, has found a sense of control during quarantine: she can have direct contact with her fans, without the typical filter of Hollywood. Her quarantine persona is far more casual than the polished host *Top Chef* fans usually see. On the show, she never seems to spill sauce on her immaculate jumpsuits, and her poker face while tasting food has been known to send contestants into a panic. But at home, she cooks in her pajamas, sometimes without a bra, which caused a minor stir on Twitter. Lakshmi responded cheekily by layering two bras on top of each other for her next video. "I wore a bra for this Zoom call," she tells me, laughing. Overall, though, the response to her videos has been positive. "Cooking in a ratty T-shirt, which is obviously very different than how I appear on television, has given me this confidence that I'm in charge of my own destiny," she says.

LAKSHMI QUICK FACTS

On evolving Top Chef
"I'm trying to convince Tom [Colicchio, her fellow judge] to do an all-vegetarian season."

On tips for home cooking
"Spices are shelf-stable, cost pennies and really can alter the taste of your food."

On dieting
Lakshmi gains 10 to 15 lb. per season tasting food on *Top Chef*. She used to diet to lose the weight each year but has recently eased her own restrictions to try to model healthy body image for her daughter.

FOR OUR SOCIALLY DISTANT cooking lesson, Lakshmi chooses a vegetarian dish involving butternut squash, green peppers, ginger, chilies, curry leaves and a handful of spices like cumin and mustard seed that evoke Indian flavors. Her kitchen is admittedly much bigger than mine, and at one point she tests out a pricey gift from a friend: a chain-mail glove designed to prevent cuts, though it proves bad for gripping peppers. "I knew it was too good to be true," she says, tossing it aside. But as promised, the dish is easy to replicate. In fact, it's so simple that I'm skeptical of the results until I taste it and realize the work the spices are doing to elevate the squash.

Lakshmi has seized this moment to evangelize about Indian flavors. The cuisine, she says, hasn't pervaded the U.S. food scene yet, like it has in Britain, where the Indian population is larger. "Indian culture does have small moments in weird places. Like, Madonna is into yoga, so we all get into yoga," Lakshmi says. "And I see on Instagram that everyone is using turmeric [in their recipes] now? Stuff like that makes me laugh. My bullsh-t meter goes off." Lakshmi predicts Indian food will become increasingly popular across the globe as we all inch closer to vegetarianism to stay healthy and limit our environmental impact. When she's not judging on *Top Chef*, she consumes a mostly vegan diet.

A self-described "latchkey kid," Lakshmi learned to cook early. Born in Delhi, she lived with her grandparents for a spell during her early childhood until her mother—who had left a toxic relationship with her father and immigrated to New York City on a nurse's visa—brought her to Elmhurst, Queens, at age 4. Lakshmi has chronicled a history with adversity: a sexual assault as a child and, as an adult, suffering debilitating pain from undiagnosed endometriosis. Cooking consistently served as a refuge.

She established her bona fides: before *Top Chef*, she hosted a show on the Food Network, and she has since published two cookbooks, plus a food-focused memoir titled *Love, Loss, and What We Ate*. But people have selective memories and often focus on

BRUCE LEE IS MY HOMEBOY

Dishing with Padma
Lakshmi finds a new way to connect with fans during quarantine

a few other biographical details: that she began her time in the public eye as a model, then as Salman Rushdie's wife, then as a woman who tasted food on TV but didn't cook on it. She struggled to be taken seriously as a food writer. "I am a brown woman on TV working in a country where a lot of people don't consider me *American* because of my funny name or the way I look," she says. "I spent a lot of my career trying to fit in, to be what the toothpaste audition or lingerie catalog wanted. At this point, I'm sick of trying to make everybody happy."

As she has been mulling her priorities in quarantine—"I need to say no to more things"—leveraging her new connection with fans to advocate for the immigrant experience has risen to the top of the list. Three years ago, she conceived of a show in which she would visit immigrant communities around the U.S., using food as a "Trojan horse" to examine the politics of immigration. Just about every network passed on the pitch until, after she'd already given up on the idea, Hulu bit.

In the first episode of *Taste the Nation*, premiering on June 19, she travels to El Paso to talk to cooks who commute from Mexico to Texas every day to work at a taqueria that is owned by a white Trump supporter who worries about how building a wall would affect his business. The show sheds a light on often unheralded cooks. "Food trends in America," she says, "trickle up, not down. The people working in the best kitchens in America are brown people." Restaurants often borrow their ideas and flavors, and give them little of the credit.

> **'I am a brown woman on TV in a country where a lot of people don't consider me American.'**
>
> **PADMA LAKSHMI,**
> *Top Chef* host

Immigrants are being disproportionately affected by restaurant closures. And even as Lakshmi champions home cooking by teaching followers how to make yogurt rice, she is concerned about that community. A lot of the places Lakshmi visited on her show, she worries, may not be there by the end of the year. She is working with the James Beard Foundation on a program offering relief grants, but the organization doesn't have nearly enough money to fulfill the more than 4,000 applications they received just in the first few hours of launching. "It's like a fire," she says. "You have to clean up and rebuild, and hope that at least the soot has fertilized the ground in some way."

COURTESY PADMA LAKSHMI

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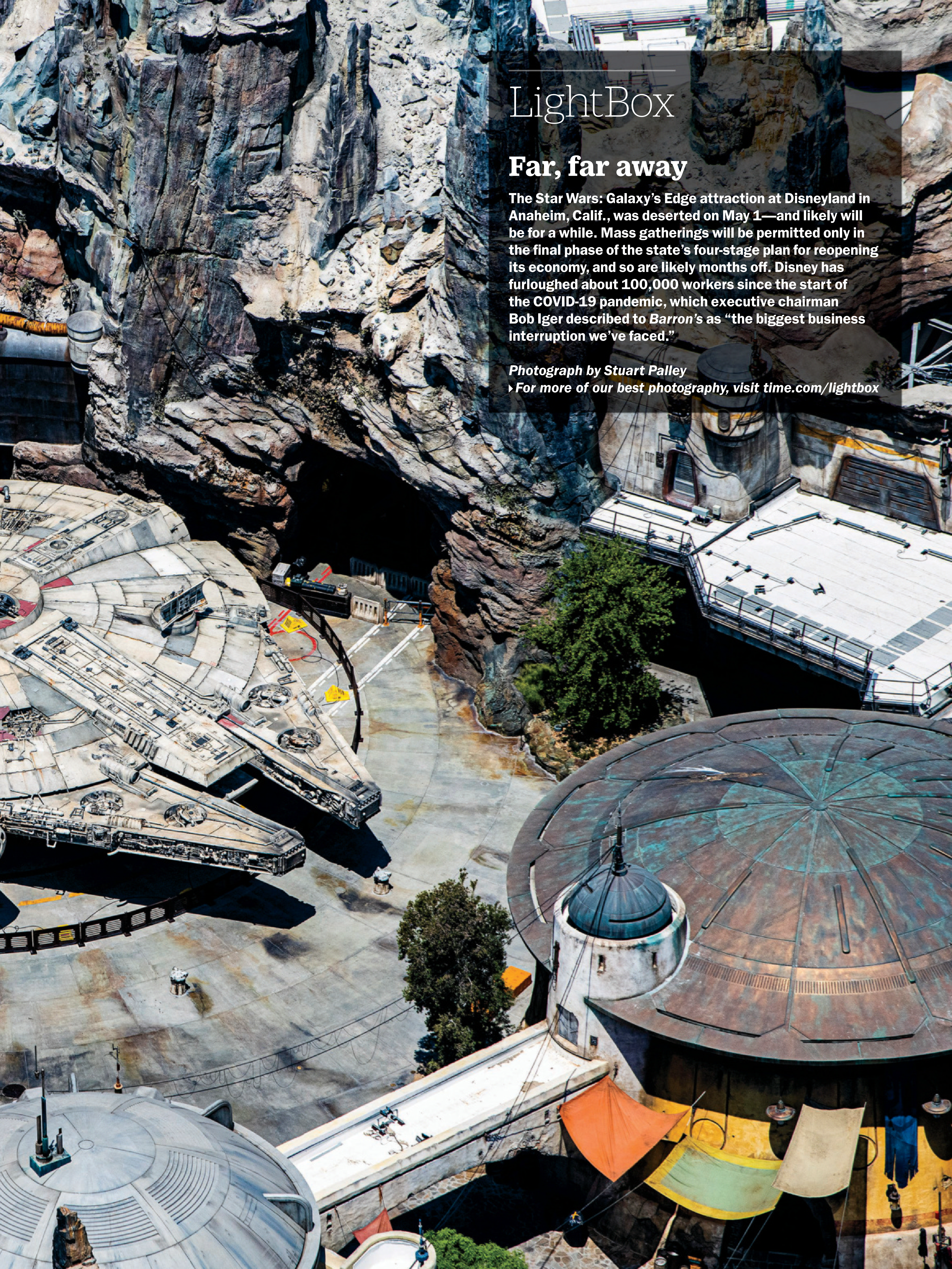

LightBox

Far, far away

The Star Wars: Galaxy's Edge attraction at Disneyland in Anaheim, Calif., was deserted on May 1—and likely will be for a while. Mass gatherings will be permitted only in the final phase of the state's four-stage plan for reopening its economy, and so are likely months off. Disney has furloughed about 100,000 workers since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, which executive chairman Bob Iger described to *Barron's* as "the biggest business interruption we've faced."

Photograph by Stuart Palley

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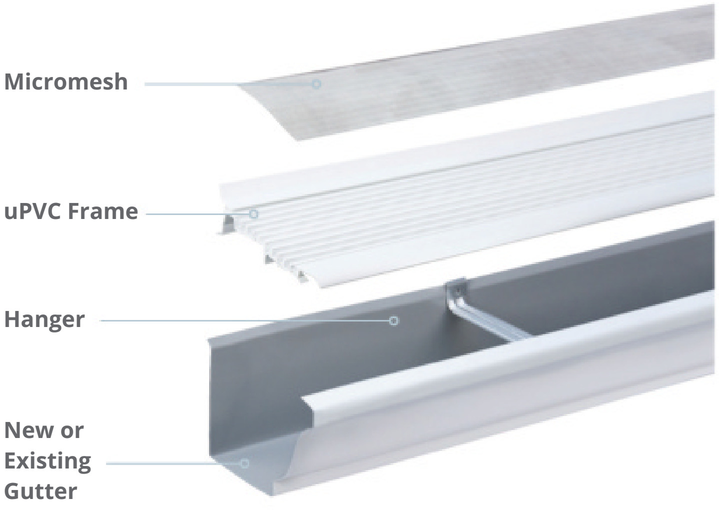
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The View

COVID-19

HEALTH WORKERS ARE NOT SOLDIERS

By Elliot Ackerman and Dr. Allan S. Detsky

The risks physicians, nurses and other health care workers face, by reusing masks and gowns, resemble the risks soldiers faced over 15 years ago when patrolling Iraq in unarmored vehicles. A shortage of personal protective equipment (PPE) is one of the defining characteristics of the COVID-19 pandemic, a crisis many compare to a war. ▶

INSIDE

THE U.S. ECONOMY'S STRENGTHS WILL CARRY IT THROUGH

WHAT CARING FOR MY HUSBAND TAUGHT ME

CAN COVID-19 UNITE US?

However, an ethical danger exists in the overly simplistic language comparing our fight against COVID-19 to a war, and equating doctors and nurses with soldiers.

Unlike soldiers, who enlist with the very specific obligation to lay down their lives when so ordered, medical professionals are under a different set of ethical obligations. They are required to provide emergency care to any patient in a hospital but are not required to work in hospitals that cannot adequately mitigate risks to their own lives. How much risk are they obliged to take on? This question is currently front and center in the COVID-19 response.

In 2003, the SARS outbreak in Toronto started when an infected woman returned from Hong Kong and transmitted the virus to her son. She died at home, but he went to a hospital where the staff had no idea he required strict isolation. SARS, which had a 10% mortality rate, was mostly a nosocomial infection, one primarily transmitted inside health care facilities as opposed to within communities. This fact gave rise to a renewed conversation about the ethical responsibility of health care workers to put their lives on the line. Were they required to keep their offices open when their patients could infect them, their staff and other patients? Were hospital-based physicians and nurses required to show up to work in the same hospitals where most of the spread of SARS occurred? Throughout history, health care personnel have been vulnerable to the infectious agents that afflict their patients. During the start of the HIV epidemic, there was debate about whether health care professionals could refuse to care for people who were suspected of having HIV.

A Spanish emergency nurse, like many others around the world, has to rely on inadequate gear for protection

IN THE AFTERMATH OF SARS, much was written about whether physicians and other health care workers were obligated to place themselves at risk of infection. The bottom line was they were not. An extensive 2008 paper published in the *American Journal of Bioethics,* after reviewing the arguments, concluded that none of these “provides a convincing basis for asserting that health care workers (or even health care professionals) have a duty to treat” during events like a pandemic.

The health care professionals currently fighting COVID-19 are, in many cases, doing so outside the scope of their normal duties. Doctors and nurses have traveled to hot spots as volunteer replacements, while others who are not emergency or ICU doctors are working in those settings. These health care professionals are running toward a fight that has all the intensity of a war. And they’re doing so with all the attendant heroism. In the years ahead, as our society will surely implement initiatives like the September 11th Victim Compensation Fund for COVID-19 responders, the balance of what they were obliged to do vs. what they volunteered to do will have ramifications for disability support. Presenting those responders as soldiers does them a disservice. It whitewashes the elective nature of their sacrifice and, potentially, normalizes their deaths as the inevitable consequence of any war.

Like all wars, COVID-19 will eventually end. The physicians, nurses and others employed in hospitals will return home. For some, that will mean being reunited with the families they’ve had to remain distant from; for others, it will mean a return to practicing medicine outside of a crisis. For all, it will mean a reckoning with the psychological costs of this pandemic. If our society can’t provide health care workers with adequate protective equipment, we can at least provide their experience with its own framework and not simply analogize it to being a soldier in a war. So let’s not diminish what they’ve done for us by assuming they had to do it. That would inflict a final wound, one familiar to any soldier: the moral injury of attempting to reintegrate into a society that doesn’t understand what it’s asked of you.

Ackerman, who served as a Marine, is the author of the forthcoming novel Red Dress in Black and White; *Detsky was the physician in chief at Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto during the 2003 SARS outbreak*

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Seeking truth

An investigation into COVID-19’s origins must tackle uncomfortable questions, writes Kevin Rudd, Asia Society Policy Institute president and former Prime Minister of Australia. **“Otherwise, it will simply degenerate into a crudely nationalist or geopolitical exercise, while the long-suffering peoples of the world are once again left defenseless.”**

Undeniable disparities

COVID-19 has hit black Americans hard; Alicia Garza, Black Lives Matter co-founder and Black Futures Lab principal, says it’s not because they’re not taking the crisis seriously: **“It’s because rigged rules have created an environment where black communities have worse economic and health outcomes.”**

History lesson

While some people are protesting public-health restrictions, easing them too early can cost lives, writes Nancy K. Bristow, author of *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic:* **“While protesters in 1918 fought against the hated mask, their act of gathering, which was at the time entirely legal, was helping to spread the disease.”**

ÁLVARO CALVO—GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY CHELSEA KARDOKUS FOR TIME

THE RISK REPORT

Why America may emerge stronger

By Ian Bremmer

COVID-19 HAS KILLED tens of thousands of Americans, thrown tens of millions more out of work and ended the longest bull-market run in modern American history. It has also proved beyond doubt that U.S. politics has become only more polarized.

Yet an appraisal of its broader comparative advantages shows that America will stumble through this crisis with less lasting damage than other nations can expect to sustain.

First, the U.S. still enjoys the age-old blessings of favorable geography. Though the security of its southern border will remain a hot political topic, the country faces nothing like the pressures Europe can expect from future waves of desperate people struggling to escape the Middle East and North Africa.

The greatest advantage for the post-COVID future is the continuing dominance of U.S. tech companies

There are newer U.S. advantages too. In 2008, even before the financial crisis slowed its economy, the U.S. produced just 5 million barrels of crude oil per day. After years of innovation in exploration and production, that number surged to a record 12.3 million in 2019. Earlier this year, a price war launched by Saudi Arabia against Russia pushed some U.S. energy firms into financial trouble, but the Saudis and Russians, under pressure from President Trump, backed down.

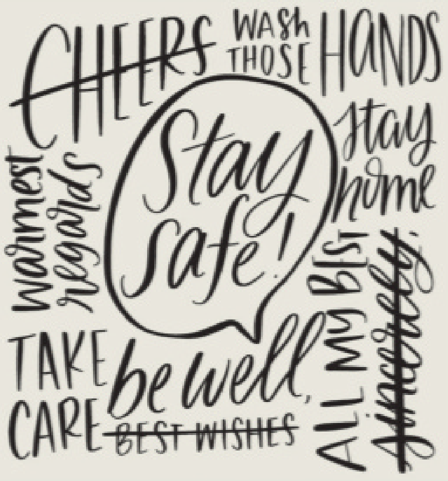
There is food production, which will matter even more in a world facing both a coronavirus-forced re-emergence of poverty in many countries and the damage that climate change will inflict on agriculture. Only China and India produce more food than the U.S., which has far fewer mouths to feed than those giants. America also enjoys substantial financial advantages. The coronavirus has put banks everywhere under tremendous strain as default risks skyrocket. But prices for credit-default swaps suggest that investors consider large European banks to be at greater risk than their Wall Street counterparts, in part because the largest U.S. banks had much more capital before the crisis began.

THERE IS ALSO the continuing "exorbitant privilege" that Americans enjoy, thanks to the continued dominance of the dollar as the world's main reserve currency. In the final quarter of 2019, nearly 61% of global foreign-exchange reserves were denominated in dollars. The euro ran a distant second at less than 21%. When governments face stress, they need dollars, and that allows the U.S. to continue to borrow as no other country can.

But the greatest advantage for the post-COVID future is the continuing dominance of U.S. tech companies. It's not just that 13 of the world's 16 largest Internet companies are American. It's that the U.S. produces far more of both the biggest digital-platform companies and the startup "unicorns" that will drive innovation in artificial intelligence, Big Data, cloud computing, autonomous vehicles, drones and other cutting-edge technologies that will dominate global economic development in decades to come.

The coronavirus has actually enhanced their advantages, thanks to their central importance in restarting shuttered economies. Think geotracking for contact tracing, development of immunity passports and the ability to do business while maintaining social distance. U.S. companies will set new standards in all these areas.

Many more people will die. Lives will be upended and livelihoods lost. But whatever else can be said about tragically dysfunctional American politics and the country's substandard health care system, the U.S. has lasting advantages that will matter in the years ahead.



ETIQUETTE

Pandemic emails

When the virus hit, everyone was suddenly in a state of emergency, and everyone knew it. That meant we needed to reassess everyday polite rituals. Among them: email sign-offs.

It was clear that some would have to be benched. ("Cheers" might be obnoxiously jaunty.) Less clear was what should take the place of stock phrases that could now read as callously upbeat.

It turns out the safest option is also a coping mechanism. Research has shown that wishing others well can actually lower our own anxiety levels, which means that saying something solicitous might make the person to whom we're writing feel seen and make us feel better.

The catch is that sincerity matters, which makes popular but already clichéd options like "Stay safe" and "Take care" and "Be well" less effective than we might like. A better bet is saying something particular to the person or the moment. Goodness knows no one has the energy to do it all the time, but using the sign-off as an opportunity to meditate on others could help us get through this thing.

—Katy Steinmetz

FAMILY

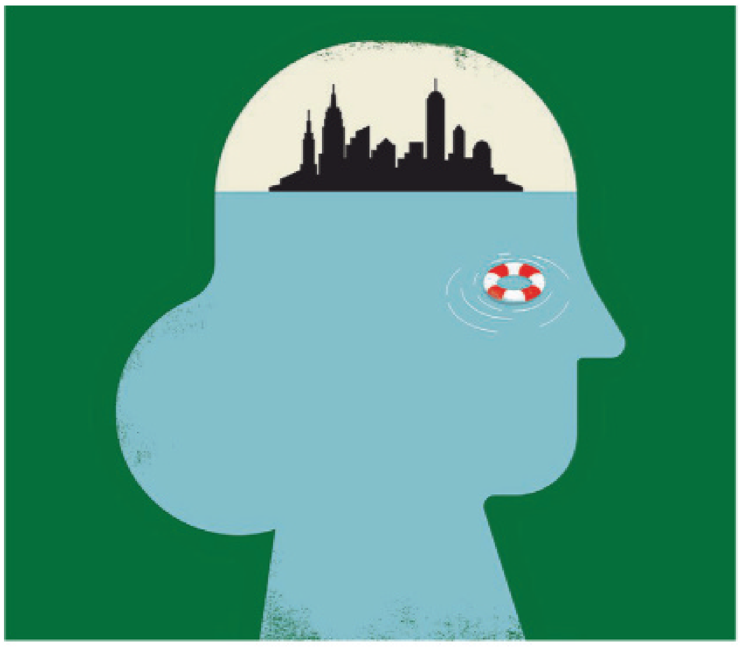
Nursing my husband back to health, badly

By Belinda Luscombe

WHEN MY HUSBAND BEGAN TO SHOW SYMPTOMS OF COVID-19, about a week after we found out one of his co-workers had a positive test, I wasn't particularly worried. He's a middle-aged, athletic, healthy guy. Our kids live elsewhere. We would just hunker down for a few days and get through it together.

After all, the pandemic has forced many people to do work that they have traditionally outsourced: homeschooling, cleaning, cooking, home repairs. Even if nobody in their home has fallen ill, people have had to behave more like health workers, by maintaining a hygienic environment, avoiding contamination and wearing protective garb. So, big deal, I would get to be a nurse for a while. (I had symptoms too, but they were much milder.)

Admittedly, the talents nursing requires—compassion, patience, the ability to offer comfort—are not my strong suits. My skill set lies more in pestering people and being prepared to make them uncomfortable. The only medical skill I've ever mastered is making a bed with hospital corners. But I knew it would be impossible to get a test in New York City; only hospitals were administering them at the time, and overwhelmed medical staff didn't want anyone there unless they were having difficulty breathing. Seeing a doctor was out of the question. Going to the pharmacy was also out of the question. In fact, for probable coronavirus carriers, stepping outside was out of the question. I felt we could manage on our own.



I realized that being alone was not the same thing as going it alone

I was wrong. I soon discovered our many shortcomings, which included maintaining a home without a working thermometer. And failing to keep the supply lines of Tylenol intact. I didn't even have a personal physician, because we just used the walk-in clinic. In normal times, these were small oversights. During a pandemic, they were disastrous.

Still, I didn't want to let anybody know too many details of my situation. I felt a little ashamed of catching the virus, even though my husband probably got it before the lockdown. Part of it was a fear of ostracism. But mostly, it was pride. We were immigrants to New York City who had done O.K. We were people who offered assistance, not people who needed it.

One particularly grim night, I awoke to find my husband walking our home in misery, his forehead burning. He was exhausted and couldn't sleep. He hadn't had food in days but didn't want to eat. No identifiable body part hurt, but he felt awful. There was nothing to do but just share the misery. I rubbed his back. We sat in silence. Eventually I remade the bed. That finally helped him get some rest. (Let's hear it for hospital corners!)

It took me longer to accept my fate than it should have. I needed to ask for help. Actually, I didn't need to ask; I just needed to accept the help being offered. When a colleague gently insisted on dropping by with her own thermometer and acetaminophen—and threw in lemons, bread, vitamin drinks, chocolate and latex gloves—the floodgates broke. She left a bag at the door, waved and walked away, and I realized that being alone was not the same thing as going it alone.

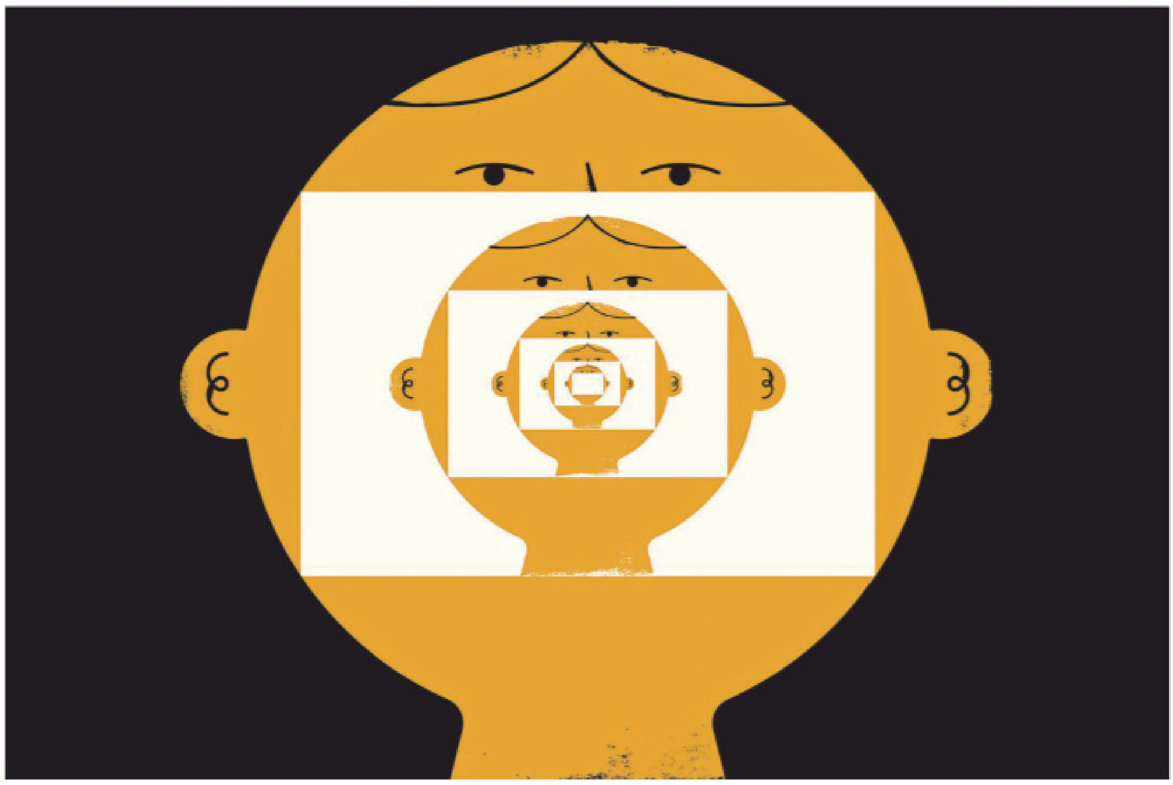
This was confirmed when the thermometer read 104°F.

HERE IS THE SKILL SET that is useful in both journalism and the caregiving professions: a willingness to pursue people for information. All the telemedicine lines I tried had long wait times. So I texted a nurse in Tennessee we had house-swapped with but never met. In the wee hours of the morning, I called a friend in Australia, where it was midafternoon. I emailed a kidney-specialist neighbor, even though the only correspondence we'd had previously was when I "accidentally" took her newspaper.

Mostly what these friends and strangers told me was that I was doing what could be done: providing fluids, trying to keep the fever in check, monitoring his breathing. They helped me make a plan in case things got worse. While my husband slept, I occasionally counted his breaths—one doctor said more than 25 a minute meant he might be struggling to get enough oxygen. I tracked his temperature and noticed when it seemed to rage. Routine replaced panic. And after about 10 days, he began to get better.

Possibly, we would have come through it without help, but I wouldn't have wanted to. One of the most indelible lessons of this scary time is that you can survive alone, but you need others to flourish. The most dangerous preexisting condition my husband and I had for fighting the virus was our devotion to self-sufficiency. Independence can be its own kind of social isolation. ◻

ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE PROJECT TWINS FOR TIME



SOCIETY

What if the virus can teach us to change?

By Colum McCann

IN 1858, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS CONNECTED to the rest of the world by an underwater cable that stretched from the wilds of Canada to the wilds of Ireland. The first public message that pulsed transatlantically was between President James Buchanan and Queen Victoria. The New World and the Old World had been joined. It was considered one of the great undertakings of the 19th century.

The favorite word of the entrepreneur behind the transatlantic cable, Cyrus West Field, was *faster.* In his eyes, time had been annihilated. Space had been shifted. He knew that information was the commodity of the future.

These days, 1.2 million km of submarine cables lie under the sea. Despite the idea that we operate in a figurative cloud, the vast majority of the world's information is carried not by satellite but by a set of wet, cold, fragile tubes, which can sometimes be ripped up by an errant ship anchor.

Even today, we probably know less about the bottom of the sea than we do about the galaxies above us. And now our cables—our moral cables, our social cables, our political cables—have been ripped up cataclysmically.

The voices that really matter will be the ones that come from underneath, not above

COVID-19 IS, like most things, so much more than one thing: it is an annihilator of time, for sure, but it is also—bizarrely, in our exponential age—a creator of time as well.

Yes, time is compressed, and information comes at us with blinding, mind-numbing speed. Everything is faster, smaller, cheaper, incomprehensibly reduced. A message bounces from Wuhan to San Francisco far quicker than a heartbeat (and far quicker than any virus). We can zoom into a living room so that halfway around the world is now no more than next door. We are reminded constantly that we are incredibly tiny: it is as if we can look at ourselves from above and see the little molecules of our meaninglessness bounce. Who could have accounted for the massive new fear that pulses within us? Who would have thought that we would be voiceless while democracy is increasingly threatened? Who could have thought that the crusade against science by those in power would condemn so many to die?

At yet the same time—or even in between time—we have become so very huge in our tiny rooms. We realize that our lives actually matter, not only to ourselves but to others too. Our breath matters. Our masks matter. Our handwashing matters. We stay at home to save the world. Or we go out (as doctors, nurses, delivery drivers, police, pharmacists) to save the world too.

Suddenly time has a different complexion: it registers differently. Everything that once seemed so vital—the need to get the train on time, the need to get the essay done—seems insignificant. Only the truly significant is significant: the phone call to a loved one, the medicine that needs to be taken, the need to stay alive and of course the need to keep others alive too.

But what if this virus, which makes us tiny and epic both, can teach us a little about holding contradictory ideas once again? What if it can allow us to see that we're not as stupid as our political parties want us to be, or as unidirectional as our TV channels seem to think we are? A purple America is a far more interesting one than the red or blue one that some insist on.

What time demands now is a new form of contrapuntal thinking. We do not need to simplify. We need to scuff things up. We need to be brave enough to reach across the aisle. And the voices that really matter will be the ones that come from underneath, not above: the vast swell of young people who have been warning us about our behavior for the past couple of years. We will need new voices to splice these shattered cables back together again.

McCann, the co-founder of Narrative 4, is the author of the new novel Apeirogon

THE DIVIDE

THE PANDEMIC HAS PUT MILLIONS ON THE EDGE OF FINANCIAL RUIN—AND EXPOSED WHAT'S WRONG IN AMERICA'S ECONOMY

BY ALANA SEMUELS

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR TIME

CHRISTINA THOMASON, 39, SMALL-BUSINESS OWNER

DWAYNE THOMASON, 56, FIELD-SERVICE MANAGER

TECUMSEH, OKLA.

Dwayne lost his job in oil in September, and now the crisis has forced Christina to try to sell her parking-lot-striping company. They have three boys—ages 2, 4 and 9—to take care of. “We’re hanging by a thin thread,” she says. “I’m watching everything we worked for being flushed down the toilet. How are we going to come back from this?”

ON THE SAME DAY THAT ELON MUSK, THE FAMOUSLY ECCENTRIC CEO OF THE ELECTRIC-car company Tesla, saw his net worth hit $36.6 billion, Maricela Betancourt, one of the many people who work in his factories, was agonizing over her family's bills. Betancourt, 58, had been a janitor at Tesla's Fremont, Calif., factory until April 7, when the company told her and 129 fellow janitors to go home and not come back until social-distancing measures were lifted. She got her last paycheck on April 8 and has no idea when the next one's coming. She owes $1,325 for an emergency-room visit in March, and is struggling to pay for rent, Internet and food. Her husband, a construction worker, also lost his job during the COVID-19 economic collapse. So did their son Daniel, 20, who is the first in their family to go to college and was helping to pay his way with a job at an arcade. The family put their stimulus funds toward Daniel's tuition and prays something will come through before June rent is due.

Betancourt's boss, meanwhile, might as well live in another stratosphere. While she relied on a food bank to supplement family dinner and Daniel turned to gig work for extra income, Musk publicly mused that he's considering selling all of his possessions because they "just weigh you down." Tesla's stock price rose so steeply this year (28%) that on May 1, Musk tweeted that it was too high, sending the share price tumbling 10%. It's still more than triple what it was a year ago.

"It's obviously a millionaire company that has enough resources to thrive," Betancourt told me from her home in San Jose, Calif. "But as workers, we live paycheck to paycheck, and now we don't even have that paycheck, so we don't know what we're going to do." (Tesla did not reply to a request for comment.)

The growing gap between America's rich and everyone else is hardly new. But the extraordinarily rapid economic collapse catalyzed by COVID-19 has made the chasm deeper and wider, with edges that keep crumbling under the feet of those crowded on the edge. Since mid-March, more than 30 million people have filed for unemployment—more than three times as many as lost their jobs during the two-year-long Great Recession. Meanwhile, after a steep but brief dip in March, the stock market rallied. The richest and most well-connected are seeing their wealth reaccumulate, as if by magic, while middle- and working-class families drown in debt that deepens with every passing week.

The contrast isn't just between low-wage workers and billionaire bosses. Bills are mounting for small restaurants and retailers as their applications for the federal Paycheck Protection Program go unanswered. But firms like Hallador Energy, an Indiana coal company that hired former Environmental Protection Agency chief Scott Pruitt as a lobbyist, raked in millions from the program. While the median home price rose 8% in March, families across the

PHOTOGRAPH BY MAR

FACES OF THE CRISIS

TIME sent photographers around the country to document the people who have suddenly found themselves out of work and in limbo.

With reporting by Anna Purna Kambhampaty, Paul Moakley and Olivia B. Waxman

MARICELA BETANCOURT, 58, JANITOR

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

After decades of cleaning houses, Betancourt wanted a job with benefits, so she started working at Tesla. But her health insurance hadn't kicked in when severe abdominal pain brought her to the ER, and then Tesla sent the janitors home without pay. The hospital bill keeps rising as her family struggles to pay it and other bills.

K MAHANEY FOR TIME

FRITZ FRANCOIS, 41, BELL CAPTAIN *MIAMI*

With no sign of his unemployment or stimulus checks, Francois, who worked at the Betsy Hotel, has been looking into delivery jobs. For now, though, he's home, trying to teach his 4-year-old son letters and numbers while his wife works as a patient-care associate at a hospital. "Every day when I wake up, I ask God to shield her," he says.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROSE MARIE CROMWELL FOR TIME

Monday
Tue
Wed
Sat

EILEEN CHENG, 60, FLORIST *FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.*

“Everything just went down to zero,” says Cheng, who has owned Yacht Flowers with her daughter since 2009. The shop primarily provided arrangements to private yachts, but few people are making use of luxury pleasure cruisers lately. Cheng is worried about what this could mean for her retirement: “I’m asking myself, Am I able to recover?”

CASINO WORKERS

LAS VEGAS

As the tourism industry has collapsed, few places have been harder hit than this one. Now out of work, hotel employees and performers alike wonder how long their glittering city will stay dark.

SHAWN BEST, 38, COOK

Best loved his job as the "breakfast guy" at the Cosmopolitan, where he'd worked since the hotel opened nearly a decade ago. Now when he talks to his parents in Buffalo, N.Y., he says, "I feel like I'm the retired one while my parents are still working." Since receiving his last paycheck in mid-April, he's been using his unemployment benefits and the stimulus check to pay his bills and buy food.

GLADIS BLANCO, 40, GUEST-ROOM ATTENDANT

Blanco's last day of work at the Bellagio was March 17, and she received only two weeks of pay from the company when she was laid off. Since then she's been living on savings and taking care of her son, 14, and daughter, 17. "It's good to have more time with them," she says, "but we have bills to pay."

TIERNEY ALLEN, 33, LADY GAGA IMPERSONATOR

TRAVIS ALLEN, 42, ELVIS IMPERSONATOR

All day long, they record happy, reassuring video messages for Elvis and Gaga fans, but off camera they are terrified. On May 1, doctors found two masses in Tierney's left breast. "It's one of those dreams where you're screaming for help and no one can hear you," she says.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANIELLA ZALCMAN FOR TIME

country began receiving eviction notices, even in states with eviction moratoriums. Small retailers closed to comply with social-distancing orders while e-commerce sales, especially from the biggest online platforms, have spiked. Amazon reported a 26% jump in revenue in the first quarter.

Assistance is most readily available to those with lawyers and lobbyists on the payroll. Companies like Carnival and Boeing borrowed billions thanks to intervention from the Federal Reserve. In mid-April, Carnival's CEO told CNBC the company could survive the rest of 2020 without any revenue. Meanwhile, Cindy Kimbler, a cashier in Columbus, Ohio, filed for bankruptcy after a collection agency began garnishing her wages over a payday loan she'd taken out to fix the car she needed to get to work.

This yawning inequality will darken the coming years. The U.S. is the world's largest economy, and so long as the majority of Americans are stumbling through a tunnel with no end in sight, its trading partners will suffer too. It's not an exaggeration to say that inequality has the potential to undermine democratic society and threaten global stability.

THE RAPID SHUTDOWN of consumer-facing businesses makes this downturn unique. When cheaper foreign labor lured manufacturing jobs overseas, the U.S. became a service economy. In March and early April, as the novel coronavirus began killing Americans, shops and businesses closed overnight. Millions of workers—waitresses and nannies and hotel clerks and line cooks—were instantly out of work.

College-educated employees who can work remotely have, so far, largely been spared, still drawing paychecks and watching their savings grow as they cancel vacations and dinners out and complain about how boring it is to stay at home. One analysis of unemployment-insurance claims in California found that nearly 37% of workers with just a high school diploma have filed for benefits since March 15, compared with less than 6% of those with a bachelor's degree.

That may change, of course. No group is safe in a recession of this magnitude. Yelp, Gap and Lyft each cut more than 1,000 corporate employees, and millions more have been furloughed or seen their pay reduced. But college-educated workers are more likely to have a cushion: they experienced wage gains since 2000 that passed those who make less. Only about 1 in 4 adults in lower-income households say they have enough money to cover expenses for three months in the case of an emergency, according to an April survey by Pew. For upper-income households, the number is 3 in 4.

While the ups and downs of the American economy have long been most destructive to the poor and middle class, this downturn is even more targeted: it is singularly affecting those who can least afford it. During the Great Recession, while pain was widespread across industries, many service workers kept their jobs as consumers decided a dinner out or a haircut were small luxuries they could afford. This time, the majority of people laid off are working-class and disproportionately women and people of color, who had been living paycheck to paycheck, their expenses rising while their wages stagnated. One lost job or missed rent payment threatens to tip them into an economic abyss.

Much of the country teeters behind them. The number of new COVID-19 cases shows no sign of receding, and consumers and businesses remain nervous about returning to the way things were. In the world of finance and business, nothing is less welcome than uncertainty. As the crisis lengthens and consumers continue to delay purchases, more businesses will fail, creating more unemployment and further diminishing consumer demand.

The safety net—already a dubious patchwork—grows more tattered. In normal times, not quite a third of workers who have lost jobs receive jobless benefits. In April and May, thousands waited weeks to get through to unemployment offices, sometimes only to be told they weren't eligible. Then there is the added expense of health care. About 12.7 million Americans have likely lost employer-provided health insurance since the pandemic began, according to the Economic Policy Institute, adding to the 27.5 million who didn't have it before this crisis.

Tanisha Robinson, 41, could not afford health insurance after losing her job as a nanny in Alpharetta, Ga., in mid-March. As her savings dwindled, Robinson turned

STACY AAENSON, 52, RETAIL ASSOCIATE *TULSA, OKLA.*

Aaenson's last day at Boot Barn was April 7, but her husband is still working as a letter carrier, and she worries about what he touches. On May 4, she picked up groceries at Iron Gate, a drive-through pantry, for some relatives. "They haven't asked me to do that, but they don't have a car so I've been doing that to help them out," she says.

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEPTEMBER DAWN BOTTOMS FOR TIME

ALEXIS MARCHIONI, 21, BARTENDER *STATE COLLEGE, PA.*

When a stay-at-home order closed the Lion's Den, where she had worked for two years, Marchioni was overwhelmed. The Penn State University junior is studying kinesiology and hopes to become a physical therapist or physician's assistant one day. "My tuition is in loans, so that's a future worry," she says, "but I was using that money to pay rent."

PHOTOGRAPH BY EVA O'LEARY FOR TIME

TANISHA ROBINSON, 41, NANNY *ALPHARETTA, GA.*

After losing her job as a nanny in March, Robinson could no longer afford health insurance, so she's been rationing her lupus and anxiety medications. She doesn't know when she'll earn money again. "My stimulus came and I was able to pay the balance of my rent for April and buy food," she says, "and now I'm right back where I started."

PHOTOGRAPH BY IRINA ROZOVSKY FOR TIME

CABDRIVERS

NEW YORK CITY

The global health crisis has given new resonance to the word *essential,* as the people who make our daily lives possible are suddenly hailed as heroes. But many taxi drivers feel they have not gotten this recognition. Now, with residents largely staying home, more drivers are filing for unemployment benefits. The three here have not yet received theirs.

MOHAMED ELEISSAWY, 63

The father of three *(right)* has been a taxi driver for about 30 years. He's gone from working five days a week to three since the lockdown started, often only giving four or five rides a day. After every stop, he wipes down the seat belts, doors and credit-card machine. "I love Manhattan, but I feel bad for Manhattan," he says.

ALMONTASIR AHMED MOHAMED, 33

An engineering student at a Brooklyn community college, Mohamed *(top right),* who moved to the U.S. from Sudan, says most of his customers recently have come from hospitals. "I'm just praying five times every day to keep this virus away, and for my family," he says.

KIM JAEMIN, 58

As business has plummeted, so has the civility of the customers who enter Kim's cab. "We face a lot of crazy, racist people," says the South Korean driver *(bottom right).* "I don't think the city respects us like doctors and nurses, the police, the subway workers. They never talk about the yellow-cab drivers risking their lives. We move the city."

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PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDRE D. WAGNER FOR TIME

to what has become the fallback for many: asking strangers on the Internet for help. A $25 donation from a new Twitter friend paid for groceries; funds from another Twitter user, coupled with Robinson's stimulus payment, covered April rent. As May approached, she was again out of money. "I literally have to choose which medications are most important and which I can get by without taking," she told me recently. One of the drugs to treat her lupus, hydroxychloroquine, has gotten harder to find since President Donald Trump touted it as a potential treatment for COVID-19.

The wealthy have never faced these impossible choices, but as more Americans do, the U.S. economy comes to resemble a game of chutes and ladders, where the richest are steadily climbing ever higher while workers without stable jobs, incomes or savings are sent plummeting downward. It will be more difficult than ever for them to catch up or to even stay in the game, given their disadvantages going in.

AFTER DIPPING IN EARLY MARCH, the stock market has nearly returned to where it was in December, allowing the wealthiest tenth of Americans, who own 84% of all stocks, to breathe a sigh of relief. The 10% also had reasons to cheer the CARES Act, which Congress passed on March 27 with a tweak to the tax code that primarily benefits hedge-fund investors and owners of real estate businesses. Banks handling the government's $349 billion small-business loan program collected more than $10 billion in fees, according to NPR.

The Betancourts, meanwhile, worry that if their son can't keep paying his college tuition, he'll lose his chance at a degree and be bumped back into the same economic category as his parents. America is still known to immigrants as the land of opportunity. But among experts who study its economy, it has become the land of income inequality. Epochal changes that lifted billions out of poverty—globalization, technology—also served to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few. Meanwhile, the U.S. has decided over time to allow a greater share of money to stay in private hands, and to collect less for the common good.

When adjusted for inflation, the wages of workers in the bottom tenth of the U.S. economy have risen just 3% since 2000, while those in the top tenth have risen

15.7%, according to the Pew Research Center. This stagnation, aggravated by the decline in labor unions, is driven by a rise in jobs without guaranteed hours, benefits or even pay. Retail and food-service workers get called in only if customers show up. The pandemic has reduced most of their hours to zero. Across the economy, a growing number of workers—from truck drivers to researchers at Google—are independent contractors without the stability and protections of full-time employees. The same is true in the gig economy. Drivers for apps like Instacart, Uber, Lyft and Amazon Flex don't know if they'll make minimum wage on any given day after expenses. And yet, economic desperation drives more people to gig work, diluting the opportunities for all.

There's no reason to believe that the conditions that led us here will change on their own. Already, more companies are talking about replacing workers with machines. And recessions are not good for workers' leverage. With millions of people now desperate for any income at all, companies can offer less and demand more.

Can things be different? Fairer? It may well be that the country emerges as a more generous place, buoyed by the communal spirit that brings New Yorkers to their windows every evening at 7, to cheer and bang pots in praise of those risking their lives to save others. It's no less possible that in the year or more it takes to create the vaccine that will allow a return to routine daily life, the virus will become one more corrosive element in public life, and we return to business as usual.

Democratic policymakers have floated ideas like expanding Medicaid, forgiving student loans or canceling rent, and making it easier to unionize. But it's not yet possible to discern how much the world will be changed by COVID-19.

Already there are signs it's gotten scarier for workers to stick their necks out. In March, Amazon fired a worker who helped organize a warehouse strike. The company said the worker had violated social-distancing guidelines. In times of great economic insecurity, pundits often wonder why there aren't widespread revolts. Where are the pitchforks, the ramparts? But it's not that people do not feel the rage of injustice. It's that they're too busy fighting to keep a roof over their heads. ☐

VIEWPOINT

NOW IS THE MOMENT TO CHANGE THE WORLD

BY RUTGER BREGMAN

HOW WILL THE CORONAVIRUS change the world? Nobody knows yet. But we do know where we were before the pandemic hit: inequality had reached historic records worldwide, Australia had burned for months on end, autocrats were suffocating democracy in Hungary and Venezuela, and a wave of protests had swept across six continents—from Beirut to Paris, from Hong Kong to Moscow.

And then came COVID-19.

The virus laid bare the world's extraordinary inequalities and injustices. Lists of so-called vital professions were published all over the world, and surprise, positions such as "hedge-fund manager" and "tax specialist for multinationals" were not on them. Suddenly it was crystal clear who did the really important work in health care and education, in public transport, in supermarkets. The general rule seemed to be: the more vital your work, the less you are paid, the more insecure your employment and the more at risk you are in the fight against the coronavirus.

There are those who think we shouldn't politicize the pandemic. There are also those who say we need to speak right now. Decisions about our future are being made in weeks, days, hours, the consequences of which will be felt for decades.

Let's be clear: these are the circumstances in which history is written. In 1930s America, for example, the New Deal was conceived in the midst of the Great Depression. In the U.K. of the 1940s, the Beveridge report—the prime text of the British welfare state—was published while bombs fell on London.

And yes, it could also go the other way. After the burning of the Reichstag in 1933, Adolf Hitler was given far-reaching powers to restore the peace. The attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, were followed by the "War on Terror" and the mass surveillance of civilians by secret services.

There's an old quote that I can't get out of my head these past few weeks. It's from Milton Friedman, one of the most influential economists of the 20th century. In 1982, he wrote, "Only a crisis—actual or perceived—produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around."

Right now, we are in the biggest crisis since the Second World War. The economic impact of COVID-19 is greater than the impact of the Great Recession of 2008, and may be even greater than that of the Great Depression of the 1930s. And if history teaches us anything, it's that extraordinary things are possible. Everything depends on the "ideas that are lying around."

SO WHAT ARE THOSE IDEAS?

In 2011, "The Protester" was TIME's Person of the Year. Since then, ideas that used to be dismissed as unreasonable or unrealistic have moved into the mainstream. Think about how a previously obscure academic like Thomas Piketty became a famous economist around the world. Think about how an unknown Asian-American businessman, Andrew Yang, galvanized millions of Americans with an idea (universal basic income) that—just a couple of years ago—was almost forgotten. And think about how a Swedish girl, Greta Thunberg, still only 17, kick-started the biggest climate-justice movement this world has ever seen.

In April, the *Financial Times,* the world's leading business paper, published an article from the editorial board that showed just how much the times have changed. "Radical reforms—reversing the policy direction of the last four decades—will need to be put on the table," the paper said. "Policies until recently considered eccentric, such as basic income and wealth taxes, will have to be in the mix." I could hardly believe what I was reading. Was this the *Financial Times* (not exactly a left-wing paper) saying we need to tax the rich, increase the size of the government and give free money to everyone?

You could say: Well, this is all very interesting, but didn't you get the memo about the socialist Jeremy Corbyn being crushed in Britain's elections? And didn't you hear that the "revolutionary" Bernie Sanders actually lost to the moderate Joe Biden? Haven't social democrats been losing election after election in Europe?

True. But when we zoom out, we can see that something bigger is going on. Just look at the platform on which the "moderate" Biden is running. His tax plan is twice as radical as Hillary Clinton's tax plan of 2016. His $1.7 trillion climate plan includes 30 times as much clean-energy commitment as Clinton's did in 2016, and is even more ambitious than that of Sanders four years ago. And yes, Corbyn did lose the 2017 and 2019 elections in the U.K., but the Conservatives' eventual public-service spending was closer to Labour's plans than to their own manifesto.

Meanwhile, it's important to remember that yesterday's so-called radical ideas, like higher taxes on the rich or ambitious climate action, are now supported by a vast majority of people in developed countries. Last year, a survey of 22,000 people in 21 countries found that the majority think the government should tax the rich more in order to support the poor. In January, a Reuters poll found that even two-thirds of Americans believe the very rich should pay more taxes, including 53% of Republicans.

Historians have long known that a crisis can be a turning point for societies. And it's not difficult to imagine how this crisis could lead us down a dark path. COVID-19 could be like 9/11: a terrible tragedy abused by those in power.

OUR UNIQUE ABILITY TO COOPERATE MAY EXPLAIN THE SUCCESS OF OUR SPECIES

But if an alternative is possible, it's because of all those protesters who have made the unthinkable thinkable. Just as America reinvented itself after the Great Depression, this crisis could lead to something better. The age of excessive individualism and competition could come to an end, and we could inaugurate a new age of solidarity and connection.

It may be hard to believe in such a revival when you turn on the television and hear about people stealing toilet paper, or armed men protesting. In moments like these, it's tempting to conclude that most people are selfish and egotistical.

But we have to remember that the media often focus on the negative, and we need to take a look at the bigger picture. Then we'll see that while the crisis deepened, solidarity actually bloomed. There's been an explosion of altruism and cooperation: people singing from balconies; neighbors collecting food; volunteers sewing masks; doctors, nurses and cleaners risking their lives on the front lines.

For the past five years, I've studied how in the past two decades scientists from all over the world have switched from a cynical to a more hopeful view of humanity. Human beings, they say, have not evolved to fight and compete, but to make friends and work together. Our unique ability to cooperate may explain the success of our species.

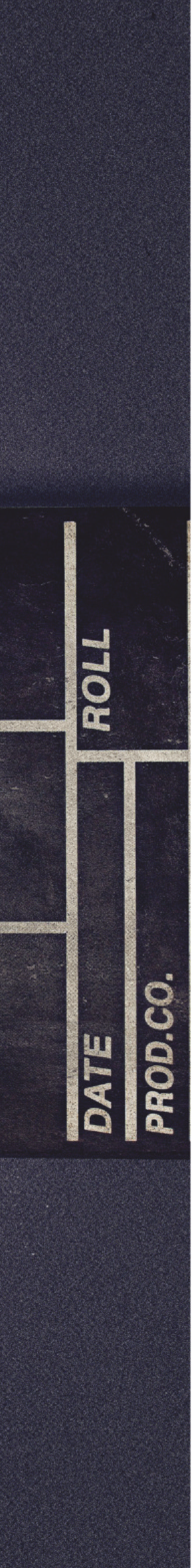
In a time of extraordinary challenges, when COVID-19 seems like just the prequel to the global climate crisis, we need to assume the best in one another. As a historian, I can't say I'm optimistic, but I am hopeful, because hope impels us to act.

Bregman is a Dutch historian and staff writer of the Correspondent. *His new book,* Humankind: A Hopeful History, *will be published on June 2*

TAKE
CUT
SCENE

THE FAMILY

Pendleton relaxes on the laps of family members, including stepson Robert Mast, second from left, in 2009



Society

THE LIVING VICTIMS

As a locked-down world binges on true-crime entertainment, some grieving families say the genre is flourishing at their expense

BY MELISSA CHAN

MINDY PENDLETON PANICKED WHEN SHE LEARNED HER stepson's murder would be featured in a true-crime docuseries on Netflix. Her stomach churned in the days leading up to the debut of the show, which Pendleton worried would glorify the killer who had strangled 25-year-old Robert Mast in 2015 as he sat in a car in a Walmart parking lot.

"This was my greatest fear," says Pendleton, 64. She'd helped raise Mast from a toddler, and still has marks on the walls of her Largo, Fla., home measuring his height through the years. The last mark, made when Mast was 18, is 5 ft. 11 in. off the ground.

When Netflix asked Mast's family and friends in February 2019 to participate in the series, *I Am a Killer,* those closest to him pleaded with the producers to abandon the project. They said it was inhumane to sell a documentary at the emotional expense of a grieving family. "As a parent, a fellow human being, I beg you not to do this," Pendleton wrote in the first of many emails to the producers, which she shared with TIME.

But on Jan. 31, Netflix released the second season of the show to more than 60 million U.S. subscribers, leading with the episode detailing Mast's murder. In the first few minutes, viewers are introduced to Lindsay Haugen, the woman who pleaded guilty to killing Mast. From a Montana prison where she's serving a 60-year sentence, the occasionally tearful Haugen recounts her years in an abusive relationship before she

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATIONS BY NEIL JAMIESON FOR TIME

met and fell hard for Mast in August 2015. Twenty-six days later, he was dead.

Far from portraying Haugen as a vicious killer, the episode presents her in a relatively sympathetic light. At a time when police, politicians and the press often are refusing to name mass killers to deny them fame, *I Am a Killer* takes the opposite tack. In her confession to police, Haugen casts herself as having acted out of a deep love for Mast, saying she put him in a choke hold after he insisted he wanted to die. But in the same interview, she flippantly tells a detective that she also wanted to see how it felt to kill someone with her bare hands. Police say Mast was so drunk that he was unable to fight back. By the end of February, *I Am a Killer* had landed on Netflix's list of its "Top 10" most-watched shows of the day in America, positioning it to be renewed for a third season.

"When we continue to give numbers to these shows, they keep making them," says Mast's stepsister Jenna Wimmer, "and real people living real lives keep getting retraumatized every time."

On the other side of the world, in Myers Flat, Australia, Rosalee Clark empathizes. Nearly six years ago, a killer slipped a knife into his belt, scaled a wire fence and repeatedly stabbed her brother, leaving him to die slowly near a dirt path. Then he fatally shot her 75-year-old mother and 78-year-old stepfather at their house across the road. In 2018, Clark stumbled upon a book about the murders, which a neighbor involved in a long-running property dispute with the family had confessed to.

"It haunts our life, this book," says Clark, 58, who spotted the paperback while browsing online. Based on its title, *Wedderburn,* Clark thought it was a historical book about her small hometown, so she clicked on it. "I realized it's about my murdered family," she says. "We're fuel for people's fascination."

That fascination is widespread, especially in the U.S., where tens of millions of fans devour true-crime shows on streaming services, on TV networks, on podcasts and in books. When *Serial* launched in 2014, it became the fastest podcast to reach 5 million downloads and streams in iTunes history. More than 1.6 million print copies of true-crime books were sold in 2018, compared with 976,000 copies in 2016, industry figures show.

On March 20, when Netflix released *Tiger King: Murder, Mayhem and Madness,* a true-crime docuseries packed with quirky characters—some missing limbs, many missing morals—it drew more than 34 million unique viewers in its first 10 days, according to Nielsen ratings. Netflix says *Tiger King,* which the Boston *Globe* called the show "that's getting us through quarantine," has been viewed in 64 million homes worldwide since its debut.

The appetite for lurid distraction is especially robust as the COVID-19 pandemic forces hundreds of millions of people to stay home, a global opportunity for binge-watching. Between March 23 and April 5, NBC's *Dateline* saw a 9% jump in viewers over the same time frame a year earlier, according to Nielsen. The Investigation Discovery (ID) channel, which broadcasts true-crime content nonstop, says its TV ratings in the week of April 6 were the network's highest in six weeks. And the Oxygen true-crime network had its highest-rated week in years with "12 Dark Days of Serial Killers," a string of shows about mass murderers that began April 9.

While confined to the couch, millions more viewers are also flipping on shows in other genres, from the news to reality TV. But ID president Henry Schleiff says true crime fills a need for more than mere entertainment by distracting viewers from the chaos outside and providing them a sense of predictability and justice, since most shows end with the crime being solved. "It is exactly the prescription our viewers need," he says.

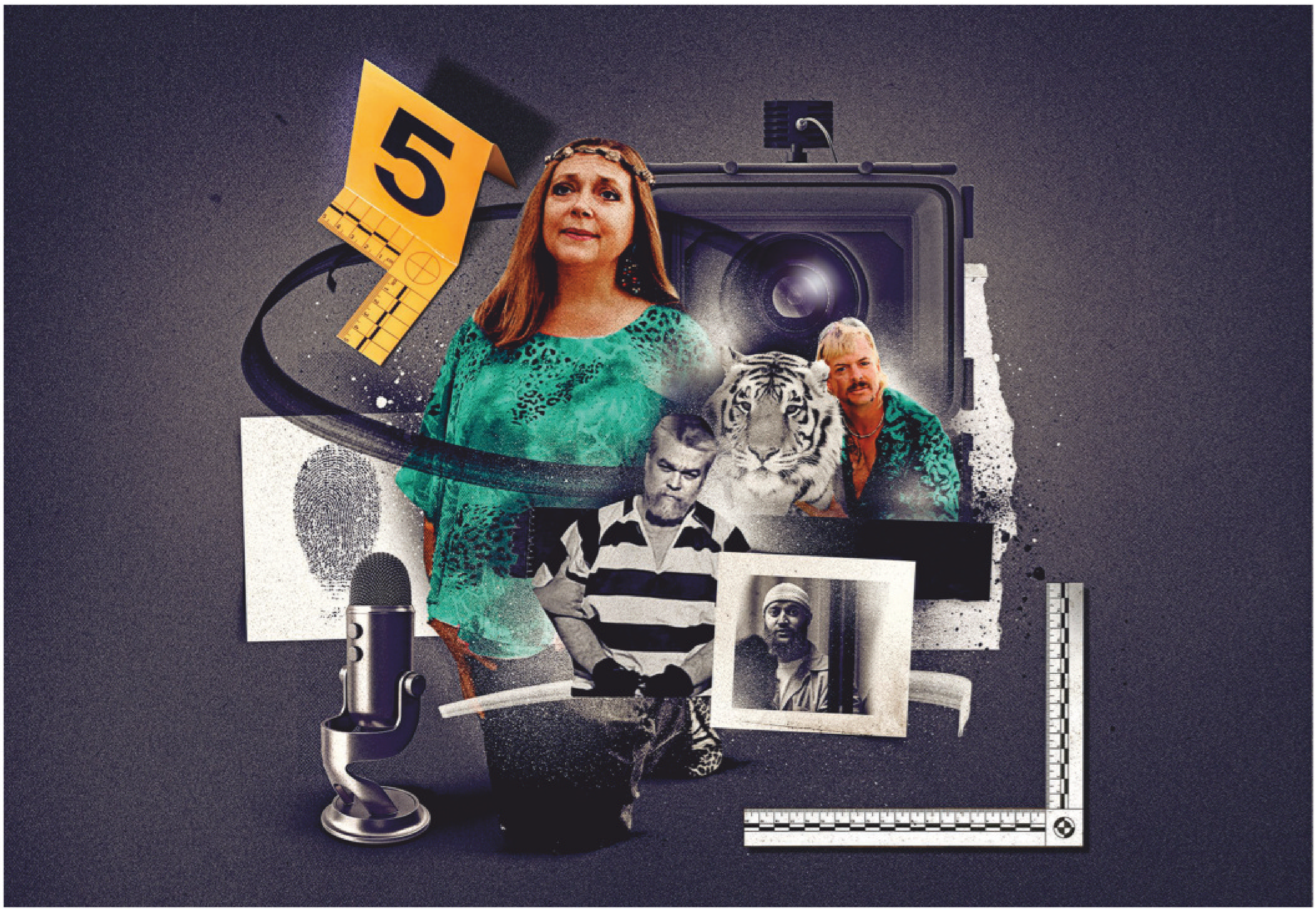
LONG BEFORE THE PANDEMIC, demand for the genre had sparked film festivals, an annual convention called CrimeCon, and CrowdSolve, a CrimeCon spin-off event in which amateur sleuths try to solve cold cases. More than 3,500 people from 12 countries paid up to $1,500 each to attend CrimeCon in 2019, up from 1,000 in its first year in 2017, according to Kevin Balfe, CrimeCon's founder and executive producer. "Most of these stories represent what all great stories have," Balfe says. "There's a hero. There's a villain. There's usually a resolution." When there's not a resolution, fans have other reasons for tuning in, says criminologist Scott Bonn, who studies serial killers. "Everybody loves a whodunit," Bonn says. "There's the appeal of 'Maybe I can solve the case before the authorities can.'"

The interest is driven by women, who make up nearly 75% of true-crime podcast listeners and about 80% of CrimeCon's attendees. Some psychologists say female viewers may be drawn to the genre to pick up survival skills or to figure out what they might have done differently under similar circumstances. They may also relate to the subjects of most true-crime entertainment, in which the victims are overwhelmingly female—even though, in the U.S. at least, far more men than women are murdered each year.

Criminologists trace our obsession with true crime to Jack the Ripper, who in 1888 killed and mutilated at least five women in London. His crimes were the first to garner global attention, owing in part to their depravity and in part to the evolution of broadsheet newspapers, according to Bonn. Interest in the killings prompted newspapers to print more salacious headlines and cover images to increase sales. Today, more than just tabloid newspapers and a few TV networks are vying for audiences. The surge in new media, including streaming services and podcasts, has enabled true crime to go mainstream. Ad revenue from podcasts in the U.S. jumped 53% to $479 million in 2018 from $314 million in 2017. There are more than 2,800 true-crime podcasts available for users to choose from, says Kelli Boling, a researcher at the University of South Carolina, who studies true-crime audiences.

BRINGING FUGITIVES TO JUSTICE has been an obvious perk of true-crime shows since 1988, when *America's Most Wanted* began broadcasting into homes nationwide, asking families on Sunday nights

> 'WE'RE FUEL FOR PEOPLE'S FASCINATION.'
>
> —Rosalee Clark



THE GENRE

Serial, *Making a Murderer* and *Tiger King: Murder, Mayhem and Madness* are among the podcasts and TV series that have fueled the popularity of true-crime productions

PREVIOUS PAGES: COURTESY MINDY PENDLETON; GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; NETFLIX (3); CARLOS BARRIA—REUTERS

to look out for dangerous suspects who could be lurking in their communities. But *Serial*—along with a host of other hugely popular productions, including *Making a Murderer* on Netflix, *The Jinx* on HBO and American Public Media's podcast *In the Dark*—is credited with ushering in a new generation of fans more eager to see flaws in the justice system investigated than to sit through another recapitulation of child beauty queen JonBenét Ramsey's unsolved murder.

"That showed that there's a whole new way to present this genre," Balfe says.

But no matter how glossy the production values or how serious the audience, the victims are real, and many survivors say their nightmares are being marketed as entertainment. "We are the living victims," Pendleton says.

Before *Making a Murderer* aired in 2015, the family of victim Teresa Halbach said they were "saddened" by those who "continue to create entertainment and to seek profit from our loss." As *Serial* sparked cries of support for Adnan Syed, who is serving a life sentence for killing his ex-girlfriend Hae Min Lee, the victim's loved ones suffered in silence. "We do not speak as often or as loudly as those who support Adnan Syed, but we care just as much about this case," her family said in 2016, as Syed's family fought unsuccessfully to win him a new trial.

AFTER RECEIVING LETTERS of opposition from at least seven of Mast's relatives and friends, the executive producer of *I Am a Killer,* Ned Parker, emailed Pendleton that he had never encountered such a "moral dilemma" in his career. But they went forward with the project, including interviews with Mast's biological mother, Dori Greeson, who shared custody of Mast with Pendleton and Mast's biological father as he was growing up, but who had little contact with Mast after he turned 18.

Parker, who did not respond to requests for comment, told Pendleton in an email that because Greeson forgave her son's killer, she deserved to be heard. He also told her that as long as the killer was speaking to the media, another TV network was sure to do the story if Netflix passed on it, and the result was likely to be a "more sensationalist" project.

Meanwhile, Clark and Pendleton cling to private memories of their loved ones. Clark's mother Mary Lockhart raised five children, never forgot a birthday and helped Clark through life's toughest moments, including her son's death from cancer and her divorce. Her brother, Greg Holmes, was a veteran who had served in Iraq and Afghanistan. "They were so much more than just victims," Clark says of her slain family.

So was Robert Mast, says Pendleton, describing him as a laid-back man who was passionate about playing guitar, telling stories and traversing the country by train. Mast loved trains so much that even now, when his nieces and nephews hear a train whistle, they shout, "Choo choo, Uncle Robby!"

The details that Pendleton holds closest to her heart are one reason she refused to participate in the Netflix show, understanding that among the audience would be her stepson's killer. "She shouldn't get my memories," Pendleton says. "They're all that we have left."

An urban beekeeper tends apiaries on a Ljubljana rooftop

World

THE HONEYBEE WHISPERERS

What Slovenia can teach the world about saving bees

By Mélissa Godin

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUKA DAKSKOBLER

WHEN PETER KOZMUS STEPPED OFF HIS PLANE FROM NEW YORK

at the Ljubljana airport in Slovenia in 2017, he expected to quietly grab his suitcase at the baggage carousel and make his way home. Instead, when he walked into the arrival terminal, he was greeted by crowds of people cheering, applauding and waving the national flag. Kozmus is not a sportsman, a celebrity or a famous politician. He is a beekeeper.

And on that morning in 2017, he was returning home with a delegation from U.N. headquarters, having successfully petitioned officials to declare May 20 a global day for bees. “It felt as if we were heroes,” Kozmus recalls. “It was like we were athletes returning with gold medals.”

In Slovenia, beekeeping is a way of life. In this small European nation of 2 million, 1 out of every 200 people is a beekeeper. That is four times as many as in the European Union as a whole. Honey features in many Slovenian dishes, and Slovenes use “apitherapy” (honeybee products) to treat illnesses and chronic injuries. Not even the coronavirus, which has infected more than 1,400 people and killed at least 96, has slowed down the country’s dedication to keeping bees. During the lockdown, the government deemed beekeepers essential workers, permitting them to travel freely to tend to their hives.

Bees are themselves essential workers in making life possible for humans. They pollinate our crops and play a key role in balancing our ecosystems, globally. “Bees hold our ecologies together,” says Andrew Barron, a neuroethologist who studies how nervous systems generate natural behavior in animals.

If they disappeared, goes an apocryphal quote often attributed to Albert Einstein, “Man would only have four years of life left.”

And bees are at risk. Europe’s bumblebee populations, for instance, fell by 17% from 2000 to 2014, while in North

America, the population dropped by 46%, rates that scientists say constitute a mass extinction. Although colonies of honeybees are not collapsing at the same rate, they are still in decline in many parts of the world—U.S. beekeepers reported a 37% loss in honeybee colonies just last year. There are multiple reasons for this, including pesticide use and the decline of wildflower cultivation, but a key factor is climate change: unpredictable seasons can impact pollen production, and higher-than-average temperatures can disrupt the bees' ability to regulate hive temperatures.

Yet in Slovenia, bee populations are flourishing. While differing survey methods and limited data makes it difficult to compare bee populations across countries, the Slovenian Beekeepers' Association reports a 2% annual increase in the number of bee colonies throughout the country. From 2007 to 2017, Slovenia saw a 57% increase in beehive numbers, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Now, as the climate crisis threatens bee populations around the world, Slovenian beekeepers see an opportunity to be more than just stewards of a beloved tradition. They want to be foot soldiers in the fight against global climate change by exporting their unique beekeeping practices and progressive legislation to the rest of the world. "This is urgent," Kozmus says.

SLOVENIA'S OBSESSION with beekeeping dates to the 18th century, when Maria Theresa, the empress of the Habsburg empire, created the first beekeeping school in the world there, appointing Anton Jansa as the school's teacher. Today, Jansa is considered the pioneer of modern apiculture, and Zirovnica—his home valley—the cradle of Slovenian beekeeping. World Bee Day is celebrated on May 20 in honor of Jansa's birthday.

Even as Slovenia has changed—formerly part of Yugoslavia, it won independence in 1991 and joined the E.U. in 2004—its citizens have kept the tradition of beekeeping alive. "In Slovenia, beekeepers are the ones who take care of the bees not just to produce honey for money, but because we just love bees," says Blaz Ambrozic, a beekeeper who inherited his apiary in Slovenia's Julian Alps from his great-uncle when he was 11.

The country's beekeepers can be a powerful force. The Slovenian Beekeepers' Association, formed in 1873, has 8,000 members, and its activities range from organizing beekeeping classes in schools to pushing out a nationwide campaign in 2007 to promote a traditional Slovenian honey breakfast. Its influence became clear around a decade ago, when Slovenian beekeepers began reporting that their bees were dying off. They suspected the culprit was neonicotinoid pesticides, a class of nicotine-like insecticides. Based on their findings, Slovenia's Ministry of Agriculture quickly banned the use of neonicotinoids that same year.

Immediately after the ban, beekeepers reported fewer bee deaths, and the Slovenian government petitioned the E.U. to ban the substance more widely. By 2013, Europe had placed a moratorium on three types of neonicotinoid pesticides, and prohibited its use in crops pollinated by honeybees. In 2018, the E.U. further expanded the ban to all field crops, amid growing evidence that neonicotinoids were causing bee colonies to collapse. By alerting the international community, Slovenia helped pave the way for other countries, like the U.S., to ban the substance. "Slovenia was very active, as were the French beekeepers, in bringing this to everyone's attention," says Jeff Pettis, the president of Apimondia, the International Federation of Beekeepers' Associations.

> **'IN SLOVENIA, BEEKEEPERS TAKE CARE OF THE BEES NOT JUST TO PRODUCE HONEY FOR MONEY, BUT BECAUSE WE JUST LOVE BEES.'**
>
> **—Blaz Ambrozic, beekeeper**

In many other countries, politicians may not have listened to anecdotal evidence from small-scale beekeepers. But in Slovenia they constitute an important voter demographic. "Because we have so many beekeepers, we have a lot of power," says Kozmus, who is the chair of the beekeeping council for the Ministry of Agriculture. "Politicians don't want to anger beekeepers because when there are elections, beekeepers are an important population."

Slovenia's Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food, Aleksandra Pivec, who also serves as the country's Deputy Prime Minister, says it is important for politicians to listen to beekeepers because "the fact is that every third spoonful of the world's food depends on pollination." Bees are "invaluable," she adds, both environmentally and economically.

The Slovenian approach to beekeeping draws upon ancient traditions but also highly localized practices. For example, in 2002, the government gave conservation status to the Carniolan honeybee, Slovenia's native bee. It banned the import of other honeybee species to avoid the introduction of new diseases and funded a breeding program for the species. Today, the Carniolan honeybee is the only protected native bee species in the E.U.

Experts say other countries, including the U.S., do not focus on local species, often importing bees from abroad instead. These species are less suited to their new environments, making them more susceptible to disease. With climate change, some experts say many foreign bee species are less likely to be able to adapt. "Slovenian beekeepers are smart because they're using their own bee," says Alexis Beaurepaire, a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Bee Health. "If you look at other countries, people keep importing bees, and then they wonder why their bees don't survive. But the bees don't know that environment, and they aren't used to it."

Slovenia is also promoting its unique "AZ" hive, after the initials of its creator, Anton Znidersic. In Slovenia, 90% of Carniolan honeybee colonies live in these small-scale painted hives designed in the early 20th century. The AZ hives, which look more like cabinets than the stack hives popular in the U.S., allow beekeepers to monitor their bee colonies more carefully and effectively. They also protect bees from harsh winter conditions, including strong winds and cold temperatures.

In part because of climate change, U.S. honeybee colonies fell 37% in the past year; in Slovenia, they rose

In the context of climate change, some experts say this model may ward off issues associated with extreme weather patterns. Other countries, including the U.S., have a mass industrialized approach to beekeeping, where colonies exist in much denser settings than they would in nature and are moved around larger plots of land, leading to greater risks of disease. "In the U.S., beekeepers have thousands of hives," says William Blomstedt, a U.S. beekeeper living in Slovenia. "But here, people will have fewer hives—maybe a couple dozen or a hundred—but they can actually care for and monitor their bees."

The AZ hives are now catching on in the U.S., and amid growing global interest in Slovenian api-practices, the government created the Beekeeping Academy of Slovenia in April 2018, to educate beekeepers from around the world on Slovenia's bee practices.

BUT AS WEATHER becomes increasingly unpredictable, Slovenian beekeepers are having to deviate from the script their ancestors left them. "What it means to be a beekeeper is changing," says Ambrozic, who noted that Slovenia has just had an unusually late snowfall, affecting how the bees forage. "We need to think bigger."

That means looking beyond Slovenia's borders and building an international coalition. The success of the neonicotinoid campaign taught Slovenian beekeepers that they could be advocates for bees worldwide. Peter Kozmus traveled the world with a delegation of his compatriots to convince other countries, from the U.S. to South Korea, to support the inauguration by the U.N. of a day devoted to bees.

After three years of lobbying, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously proclaimed May 20 as World Bee Day in 2017. Individuals and organizations working on bee conservation now come together on that day to raise awareness about the importance of bees for our ecologies and food systems, and to brainstorm ways they can collaborate across fields and borders. "We do not want World Bee Day to be a celebration because we don't have anything to celebrate right now," Kozmus says, noting that bee populations worldwide are plummeting. "We want to use this day as a tool to inform people that bees are important."

Experts say that these kinds of efforts by Slovenia to foster international interest in bee conservation have been successful. "North America, generally speaking, is following suit by thinking about bees as charismatic creatures," says Geoff Williams of the Bee Informed Partnership, a Maryland-based nonprofit focused on saving honeybees. "Slowly, there is huge interest developing in preserving bees. We're following their early steps."

For Kozmus, protecting the bees has taken him around the world. But in the Kozjansko valley, he still tends to his 100 bee colonies alongside his wife and three children. The panels on his apiaries, like most in Slovenia, are colorfully painted with wildflowers and iconic symbols of Slovenian beekeeping: a portrait of Jansa, images of student beekeeping clubs and proudly painted letters that spell out WORLD BEE DAY. The imagery offers a reminder, Kozmus says, that together the world can take action to curb global heating, ban dangerous pesticides and put an end to ecological degradation. "Every person can do something for the bees," he says.

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INSIDE

SEEING DOUBLE WITH MARK RUFFALO IN A TALE OF TWINS

NETFLIX REVISITS THE MOST NOTORIOUS MEDIA SCANDALS

BILL BUFORD'S CULINARY ADVENTURE TO FRANCE

ILLUSTRATION BY SHAWNA X FOR TIME

PODCASTS

Podcasts to get you through

By Eliana Dockterman

I USED TO DIP IN AND OUT OF podcasts during moments of transition—on the subway heading to work, walking to meet a friend for dinner or sitting in the waiting room of my dentist's office. But none of us are doing any of those things now, and podcasts have seen an overall dip in streaming over the past two months, according to podcast-analytics company Podtrac.

And yet I have found more time for podcasts, like the hours I now spend cooking, putting together puzzles or taking long walks. Luckily, I can turn to a handful of wonderful pop-up shows that have risen to the challenges of this particular moment: they provide answers to quarantine-cooking questions, distract rambunctious children and offer tools to cope with social distancing. I've been interspersing those new favorites with a few old stalwarts, particularly pop-culture podcasts that require I watch a movie or read a book before tuning in. It's a guaranteed way to eat up all those hours we're spending indoors.

STAYING IN WITH EMILY AND KUMAIL

Comedic couple Emily V. Gordon and Kumail Nanjiani are well equipped to serve as social-distancing gurus: as fans of Gordon and Nanjiani's semi-autobiographical film *The Big Sick* know, Gordon fell ill and was put into a medically induced coma early in their relationship. As an immunocompromised person, she's no stranger to self-isolating when she feels unwell—and she has unusually good advice, given that she was a therapist before she became a Hollywood screenwriter. On the podcast, the couple share the daily trials of isolation—like accidentally dropping a glass of water onto their beloved Nintendo Switch. When she's not cracking jokes, Gordon offers ways to manage feelings of depression and anxiety. Their evident care for each other, and their loving banter, buoys this podcast above other celebrity shows.

JULIE'S LIBRARY

Mary Poppins herself is here to save your children from going completely stir-crazy. Since shortly after quarantine began, Oscar winner Julie Andrews has been crawling into a closet soundproofed by pillows in order to host story time for kids 10 and under. Andrews has published more than 30 children's books with her eldest daughter, Emma Walton Hamilton, and the two take turns reading aloud from both classic and new kids' books. As Andrews makes her way through her personal collection of children's stories, her dulcet voice is bound to soothe rambunctious people stuck at home, kids and adults alike.

THE WEEDS

Vox's politics and policy podcast has nimbly pivoted in the past month from 2020 election coverage to dissecting federal and state governments' responses to the coronavirus. As the name of the podcast might suggest, host Matthew Yglesias and guests Ezra Klein, Dara Lind and Jane Coaston are policy wonks, and their in-depth discussion might deter apolitical listeners under normal circumstances. But at a moment when conflicting information about the virus abounds, concrete analysis of important topics—like the various proposals to ease social-distancing restrictions or the practical timeline for creating and testing a vaccine—now qualifies as essential listening.

THE REWATCHABLES

Many pop-culture podcasts have struggled as the production of new movies, TV series and albums grinds to a halt. Not so *The Rewatchables.* Host Bill Simmons and a rotating cadre of writers and critics at his site the Ringer look back on favorite films, from *Heat* to *My Best Friend's Wedding,* that they always stop and watch whenever they see they're on TV. Simmons and his crew not only review their picks but also analyze why, exactly, these movies have stood the test of time. More recently, Simmons has coaxed major directors onto the show to analyze their favorite works, including Quentin Tarantino and the Safdie brothers. It's worth a scroll through the archive for movie marathon ideas.

HOPE, THROUGH HISTORY

Pulitzer Prize–winning presidential biographer and TIME contributor Jon Meacham has teamed with the History Channel for a miniseries that will explore five of the most challenging moments in U.S. history—the 1918 flu, the Great Depression, World War II, the polio epidemic and the Cuban missile crisis—to understand how leaders and citizens responded and survived. Amid this crisis, Meacham's retellings offer possible blueprints for marshaling perseverance and hope. Long a master of narrative, Meacham has a knack for lively storytelling that translates beautifully to the audio format, where archive recordings of presidential addresses, news reports and interviews transport the reader into the past.

HOME COOKING

More people are cooking at home during quarantine, driven by some combination of boredom and necessity. But limited access to groceries can challenge even the most experienced chefs. *Salt Fat Acid Heat* cookbook author and chef Samin Nosrat (who also stars in a Netflix show of the same name) and veteran podcaster Hrishikesh Hirway (*The West Wing Weekly* and *Song Exploder*) have teamed up to answer any and all quarantine-cooking questions. Have no idea what to do with the bags upon bags of beans you grabbed in a hurried, panicky trip to the grocery store? Need to bake a cake, but you're completely out of baking powder? Want to join the sourdough-starter trend? They've got you. Nosrat's unwavering optimism and Hirway's inquisitiveness make for joyful listening.

> **Need to bake a cake, but you're completely out of baking powder? Want to join the sourdough-starter trend? Nosrat and Hirway have got you**

THE DAILY

The New York *Times'* daily podcast, hosted by journalist Michael Barbaro, continues to be an essential news resource. Recent episodes have offered urgent coronavirus coverage, such as interviews with politicians like New York Governor Andrew Cuomo; a tragic talk with a doctor in Italy whose hospital ran out of beds, forcing impossible decisions about who lives and who dies; and a conversation with a Michigan protester desperate for his business to reopen. Donald G. McNeil Jr., a science and health reporter

ILLUSTRATION BY SHAWNA X FOR TIME; GETTY IMAGES (5)

at the *Times,* has been a frequent guest. Early to sound the alarm, he has continued to doggedly urge individuals and lawmakers to take the necessary steps to slow the virus's spread in the U.S.

BINGE MODE: HARRY POTTER

Based on data from Goodreads, just about everyone is either revisiting the *Harry Potter* series or sharing it with their children for the first time. The Ringer's *Binge Mode* podcast, which began as a *Game of Thrones* show but has since pivoted to other fantasy series, is the perfect accompaniment. Hosts Mallory Rubin and Jason Concepcion meticulously recap every single *Harry Potter* book, chapter by chapter, in exhaustively researched episodes. Potter fans will feel an immediate kinship with the hosts, whose in-jokes about the material are hilarious precisely because of their specificity. (One ongoing bit involves Professor McGonagall manipulating Hogwarts Quidditch matches because she's a gambling addict.) But they are scholars first and fans second, highlighting Rowling's careful plotting to discuss how her themes of tolerance and resistance feel more relevant than ever.

THE KIDS ARE ALL . . . HOME

This new podcast from Pineapple Street Studios is designed by kids for kids stuck at home because of COVID-19 school closures. The creators solicited homemade podcasts from children all around the world offering tips on how to stay safe, the activities they're occupying themselves with and even snack ideas. Not only are the podcasts adorable, but hearing other kids navigate the challenges of the coronavirus may help make your own children feel less alone. Your kids might even be compelled to make their own podcast for the show: a fun and productive parent-child activity while schools and camps are closed.

REVOLUTIONS

Sometimes the best distraction is to immerse yourself in a topic—and this history podcast does just that. Host Mike Duncan discusses the intricacies of various revolutions throughout history—French, Haitian and, this season, Russian—with the approachable tenor of your favorite history teacher from high school. The show is so thorough that Duncan spent 22 episodes describing Marxist ideology and the history of the czars before finally getting around to introducing Vladimir Lenin, the most important figure in the entire story. When's the next time you'll have an opportunity to fill gaping holes in your education with hundreds of hours of historical podcast content? I turned to *Revolutions* after watching the film *The Death of Stalin* and realizing I knew very little about any Russian history—and a month later, I'm not even halfway through just this one miniseries. If quarantine lasts long enough, I may dive into the history of Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution next.

BLANK CHECK WITH GRIFFIN AND DAVID

Here's another podcast that serves as an invitation to binge wonderful films: David Sims, the *Atlantic*'s film critic, and actor Griffin Newman analyze various directors' entire filmographies, dedicating an episode to each of their movies. They record long—like, many hours long—discussions of the works of Steven Spielberg, Kathryn Bigelow, Hayao Miyazaki, Nancy Meyers, M. Night Shyamalan, Jonathan Demme and more. The hosts and their rotating guests perform plenty of laugh-out-loud bits. But this show stands out because of Sims' and Newman's sharp artistic insights. Taking time to fall down the rabbit hole of a single director's work will allow you to better understand their artistic vision, how the business of Hollywood operates and what exactly makes a movie great.

CORONAVIRUS: FACT VS FICTION

CNN's chief medical correspondent Dr. Sanjay Gupta, who has always been able to explain complex scientific concepts in a digestible way, is the voice of reason that you need to quote when explaining to your kids, parents or neighbors why it's so important that they stop going over to their friends' houses for a while. Gupta dispels misinformation about COVID-19 and provides the crucial updates that people need to figure out how to go about their lives safely. The episodes are also bite-size—about 10 minutes each—which makes the perfect listen for while you're brewing your morning coffee.

ELEANOR AMPLIFIED

WHYY's adventure story *Eleanor Amplified* is aimed at elementary-school-age kids and tweens. The show centers on a world-famous radio reporter who foils various villains with her dogged investigations into corporate conspiracies—and it includes lots of fun old-timey accents, à la *His Girl Friday.* While the show doesn't dole out morals, it does elucidate for children the value of journalism and of uncovering the truth at a moment when so many of us are desperate for information.

OH, HELLO: THE P'DCAST

Nick Kroll and John Mulaney, the stars of *Big Mouth,* wrapped up a run on Broadway of their show *Oh, Hello* in 2017. In it, they played crotchety old New Yorkers who loved tuna fish, hated most people, and invited big-name comedians like Jon Stewart and Will Ferrell onstage for impromptu conversations each night. (A filmed version of the staged show is currently streaming on Netflix.) Now, they're starring in a spin-off podcast for charity. The series parodies mystery podcasts like *Serial* and promises to delve into the life and death of Princess Diana, but actually takes wild diversions into the biographies of their characters George St. Geegland and Gil Faizon. It's the funniest thing to happen to podcasting since the start of quarantine.

PHOEBE READS A MYSTERY

Phoebe Judge is best known as the host of the true-crime podcast *Criminal,* one of the few examples of that genre that makes listeners feel smarter rather than icky by association. (I'm looking at you, *Tiger King.*) But Judge's soothing timbre is the real highlight of her work, and it's elevated her to celebrity status in the podcasting world. During quarantine, Judge has found solace in reading whodunits, and decided to create a new show to share her passion. Every day, Judge reads a chapter from a mystery, including works from Agatha Christie and Arthur Conan Doyle. Most recently, she's been reading Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone,* widely considered to be the first detective novel. Judge's renditions rival the best audiobooks—and, best of all, they're free.

Ruffalo x 2: the actor plays brothers Dominick and Thomas Birdsey

REVIEW

Mark Ruffalo's aim is *True*

By Judy Berman

DOMINICK AND THOMAS BIRDSEY ARE AS DIFFERENT AS identical twins can be. Born on opposite sides of midnight on New Year's Eve 1950, they began life at the end of one decade and the beginning of the next—with separate birthdays and, as students during the Vietnam War, divergent draft numbers. When we meet them in *I Know This Much Is True,* an emotional HBO miniseries based on Wally Lamb's 1998 best seller, the brothers (both played by Mark Ruffalo) are 40, and the disparities between them couldn't be clearer. Thomas, a paranoid schizophrenic, has just walked into a public library with a knife and sliced off his own hand.

Dominick appears to be the responsible twin. With their mother (Melissa Leo) dead of cancer, leaving behind only a gruff stepfather (John Procaccino) who hit the boys when they were kids, Dominick has dutifully managed his brother's affairs. But Thomas' public self-mutilation—which he says is an act of protest against the increasingly inevitable Gulf War, attracting national media thirsty for a crackpot prophet—plunges Dominick's life into crisis too. After officials move Thomas against his will from his group home to a harsh militaristic institution, an altercation sets off a spiral of events that reveal how tenuous Dominick's apparent stability actually was.

The story's biblical symbolism reaches far beyond Thomas' literal interpretation of Jesus' exhortation: "And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." Like Cain's murder of Abel, *This Much* asks whether one brother is the other's keeper. Dominick's successes tend to come at his twin's expense, as was the case with Jacob and Esau. Their mom's lifelong refusal to divulge the identity of their birth dad creates lingering questions about the sins of fathers real and imaginary, biological and adoptive, historical and expectant.

This excess of subtext comes straight out of Lamb's 901-page tome, as does the ceaseless torrent of misfortune that threatens to drown the Birdseys. (Comfort TV this is not.) Though writer-director Derek Cianfrance smartly dilutes the melodrama with the same blunt realism that made his 2010 film *Blue Valentine* a gut punch, he doesn't entirely succeed at bringing the narrative down to earth. And his unadorned approach doesn't always work with subplots—including flashbacks to the life of the brothers' Italian immigrant grandfather—that could've used more flair.

> ***'The show is right for this strange experience we are living through.'***
>
> **MARK RUFFALO,** to the New York *Times,* about *I Know This Much Is True*

IT'S RUFFALO WHO RESCUES the show from mediocrity, counteracting heavy-handed twists and on-the-nose lines ("You're his mirror self," Thomas' psychologist, played by a well-cast Archie Panjabi, informs Dominick). And while A-list actors' portrayals of mentally ill characters reliably attract awards attention, it is as Dominick that Ruffalo does some of his best work. Commanding as it is, his performance is also generous. It brings out the best in scene partners from the great Kathryn Hahn (as his ex) to Rosie O'Donnell, whose empathetic turn as Thomas' social worker honors a tough, often thankless profession.

Righteous anger and raw vulnerability have long defined Ruffalo's most memorable characters. Sometimes that intensity can overpower a movie, Incredible Hulk–style, yet it finds a perfect outlet in Dominick, a good but broken man who's incapable of acknowledging the extent of his damage. After the pain of a failed marriage, a lost career and multiple deaths, it is Thomas' ordeal that finally puts him in a position to get the support he so desperately needs. In the end, the Birdseys may not be as different as they look.

I KNOW THIS MUCH IS TRUE *premieres May 10 on HBO*

Stenberg and Holland, right

REVIEW

From City of Stars to City of Light

Damien Chazelle—like Ryan Gosling's character in Chazelle's hit musical *La La Land*—is on a mission to make jazz cool again. Now the director brings his crusade to Netflix with *The Eddy,* a miniseries as meandering, diverse and resistant to traditional structures as the wildest jam session.

Set at the titular scruffy Paris jazz club, the bilingual show opens at a rough moment for owner Elliot (*Moonlight*'s André Holland). The Eddy is in financial trouble, Elliot's business partner (Tahar Rahim) is taking desperate measures, and his troubled teen daughter (a delightfully bratty Amandla Stenberg) is coming from America to live with him.

There's a crime drama brewing, but Chazelle is in no rush. He detours to follow other characters, from the proprietors' families to the Eddy's international house band. Music abounds, in lengthy performances of original songs that, sadly, feel too generic for the gritty setting and vérité camerawork. At first, my eyes glazed over. But have patience (a tall order these days), and you'll be rewarded with episodes that mix music with daily life, and global cultures with one another, as artfully as veteran improvisers showing off their chops. *—J.B.*

THE EDDY *hits Netflix on May 8*

REVIEW

A smart *Trial* that never reaches a verdict

IN 1990, THE VENERATED *NEW YORKER* writer Janet Malcolm published *The Journalist and the Murderer,* a chronicle of a convicted murderer's lawsuit against the author he'd trusted to tell his story. Controversial for its era, the book frames journalism as a game of "seduction and betrayal," in which the reporter inevitably turns on the subject. Yet over three subsequent decades that saw the rise, first, of Court TV and hyperpartisan cable news, and then of digital and social media, it became a standard journalism-school text. A corrective to the assumption reportage is an inherently righteous calling, it now reads as common sense.

Yet Malcolm largely ignored the opposite scenario, in which a journalist, or the media at large, becomes the pawn of a subject—or lawyer—intent on winning in the so-called court of public opinion. Netflix's *Trial by Media*—whose executive producers include George Clooney, Court TV founder Steven Brill and Malcolm's *New Yorker* colleague Jeffrey Toobin—seems more concerned about the latter form of manipulation. I say "seems" because at no point in the elegantly structured, deeply researched docuseries does the creators' point of view come into focus.

The six-part anthology revisits a different legal saga in each episode, from racially charged tragedies like 1984's "subway vigilante" case to the darkly comic 2008 downfall of then Illinois governor Rod Blagojevich. Skillful interviews draw out such memorable characters as Geoffrey Fieger, the showboating lawyer who helmed a wrongful-death suit against *The Jenny Jones Show.* An empathetic episode on Amadou Diallo, the unarmed African immigrant who was shot to death by the NYPD in 1999, centers on his mother Kadijatou, whose rude awakening to racism in America launched a lifetime of activism.

What's missing is synthesis. Each episode tracks how attorneys, activists and other interested parties interact with the media. Sometimes it's illuminating; *Apprentice* alum Blagojevich rides a tabloid roller coaster to a presidential commutation catalyzed by his wife's appearances on Fox News. More often, cause and effect remains fuzzy. The series neither creates a timeline nor makes an overarching argument. We're left wondering: When journalists are in thrall to murderers, what is to be done? —J.B.

TRIAL BY MEDIA *comes to Netflix on May 11*

AP
WNEW
WINS
WINS
WOR

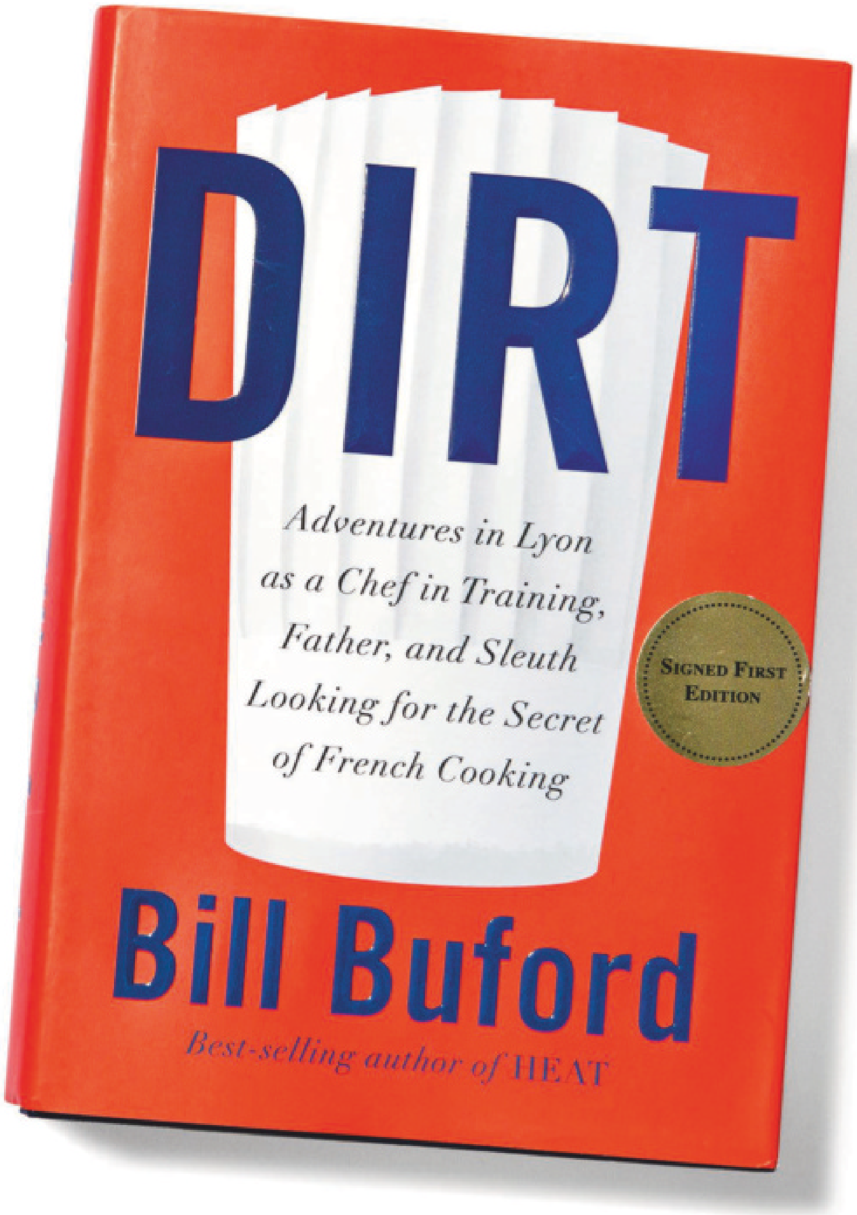
"Subway vigilante" Bernhard Goetz's history of racist statements came out in court

I KNOW THIS MUCH IS TRUE: HBO; NETFLIX (2)

MEMOIR

The flavors of France

By Annabel Gutterman


DIRT
Adventures in Lyon as a Chef in Training, Father, and Sleuth Looking for the Secret of French Cooking
Signed First Edition
Bill Buford
Best-selling author of HEAT

"ON SUNDAYS, THE BOULANGERIE BELONGED TO Lyon." This is how Bill Buford describes his new favorite spot in the neighborhood where he moved with his family in 2008. In *Dirt,* the latest memoir from the former fiction editor of the *New Yorker,* Buford has relocated to the gastronomic center of France to master cooking the country's cuisine. Soon he discovers the boulangerie, a local touchstone run by beloved baker Bob, which attracts patrons from all walks of life each weekend. There's the crowd that strolls in looking for warm nourishment after a night out. Hours later, early risers wait for buttery breakfast treats, cash in hand, in a line winding out the door. These images recall a world that feels far away amid stay-at-home orders: strangers crammed together, their common denominator not a worldwide crisis but stomachs growling for fresh baguettes. This makes *Dirt* a welcome reminder of simpler times.

Buford is not new to culinary memoir. The author documented a food-filled year in Italy in his best-selling 2006 book *Heat,* which chronicled his adventures as an amateur chef first in New York City and then in Tuscany, attempting to learn everything there was to know about Italian cooking while living with his partner Jessica. *Dirt* has some of the same ingredients: Buford is out of his comfort zone and wants to try his hand in the kitchen alongside the best in the industry. But the book adds a twist in the form of two sugar-loving new members of the expat crew: the couple's 3-year-old twins. And as the family settles into a new routine in France, the few months Buford originally envisions spending in Lyon turn into five years.

The author's perspective as a father, witnessing his kids immerse themselves in a foreign culture, keeps the memoir from being bogged down in the history and often aggravating precision of preparing French food. Instead, his writing is filled with humor and heart. When the twins try Bob's *pain au chocolat* for the first time, Buford describes the moment with glee: "They had eaten nothing like it before—and didn't understand why they should eat anything else."

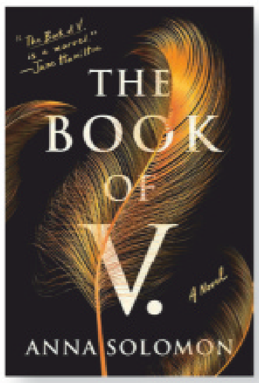
FOOD MEMOIRS often romanticize the places in which they are set, but Buford never pretends that Lyon is glamorous. He's enamored with the grittiness of the city: walls riddled with graffiti; streets with broken stones; and of course the food, which he writes "wasn't grand, but was always good."

> **'They had eaten nothing like it before—and didn't understand why they should eat anything else.'**
>
> **BILL BUFORD,** in *Dirt*

His admiration of Lyon, however, doesn't mean he fits in. Jessica, a wine writer, speaks French easily, but he does not—and their outsider status sets up a tension that simmers throughout the memoir. Buford's mission was to feel confident in a French kitchen. Through studying at a culinary institute and working at a Michelin-starred restaurant, he acquires the technical skills he needs. But to belong, he realizes, will require a different kind of education.

To feel more connected to Lyon and less like a tourist, Buford sets out to investigate where its food traditions come from. At one point, he considers cheese and its preserved nature. There are more than 1,000 varieties of cheese in France—and the experience of eating cheese there is for Buford a special one. He wonders why: "Is it that eating a piece of cheese is, more than any other food, akin to honoring a piece of place?" In searching for the answer, he unveils the importance of understanding a city in order to better prepare its dishes.

In the end, it is the little boulangerie where he grows most, and not just as a chef. Bob takes him in and imparts all he knows about making bread with care. For some, it may feel a strange time to read a tale of travel—and the ease with which Buford can hop on an airplane in *Dirt* could surely spark envy. But in so delicately capturing his relationship with Bob and the boulangerie, Buford underlines a deeply resonant tenet of life: the value of community. ☐



FICTION

A biblical retelling, done three ways

Twice a day for the past month, 40-something mom Lily has read the same book to her two children—and she's had enough. It's a biblical tale about a king in Persia who holds a pageant to find a new wife after he banishes his first one. He settles on Esther, a young Jewish woman who is not ready to be married, and especially not to him. The details, Lily remarks, are not that important. It's the end that matters: "The second queen, Esther, is the hero."

But is she, really? Anna Solomon explores the answer in her twisty new novel, *The Book of V.* Lily is just one of three narrators. She's joined by Esther herself—a teenager navigating the politics of ancient Persia—as well as Vivian Barr, a Senator's wife living in Nixon-era Washington, D.C. Solomon moves among the women's voices as each embarks on her own journey. Although their stories couldn't begin more differently, the author weaves in connective threads to comment on the timelessness of male power.

Switching among these three distinct worlds seamlessly, *The Book of V.*'s narrative is fast-paced and well balanced. Throughout, Solomon asks how much life—rights, agency and ambition—has changed for women now from how it was centuries ago. The answer she offers may not be the one we'd all like to hear.

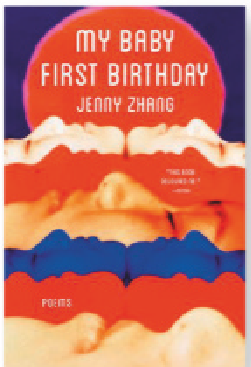
—A.G.

POETRY

The cathartic chaos of Jenny Zhang

By Cady Lang

TO READ JENNY ZHANG IS TO EMBRACE primal states: pleasure, hunger, longing and rage. In her second book of poetry, *My Baby First Birthday,* Zhang glories in the messiness of living while probing how the instinct to nurture can sometimes be matched by the impulse to destroy.



In 97 poems, Zhang covers everything from the broadly political, like the #MeToo movement and white saviors, to the intimately personal, such as kink and giving birth, in graphic and physical verse. The collection is fascinated with both motherhood and new life—the fierce giving and taking of unconditional love and the traumas that can result from this exchange. "There are too many centuries of mothers loving their mothers/ I will be the first to love myself more than I love my mother," Zhang muses in "The Universal Energy Is About to Intervene in Your Life."

Divided into four sections named for the seasons, the collection also confronts the injustices of a world whose structures are cruel to those they weren't built to protect. Zhang is at her sharpest when she leans into the specificity and brutal humor of this. "When did I agree to be a textbook/ for you and your whole dumb family," she asks. "My people make history if they just stay alive/ well anything is easy if yr existence is wanted."

Zhang's observations, peppered cheekily with Internet shorthand, are flanked by graphic and often gross imagery—something readers of her past books, the short-story collection *Sour Heart* and her poetry debut *Dear Jenny, We Are All Find* will recognize. Raw, and sometimes violent, feelings are depicted in visceral descriptions of bodily fluids and functions—as well as frequent usage of Zhang's apparent favorite expletive, the *C* word.

Reading these poems, one gets the sense that Zhang wants to overwhelm readers—not to hold them in her thrall, although she could easily do so, but to fulfill an earnest wish for them to feel the richness of everything that they can, emotionally and physically, even if that complicates their reality. It's something she knows well from personal experience. "I'm not an easy woman," she declares. "And why would you want to be?" ☐

Zhang, born in Shanghai, grew up in New York City

ZHANG: COURTESY JENNY ZHANG

8 Questions

Justin Amash The Michigan Congressman on the culture of the GOP he left and why he'd run for President as a Libertarian

As a presidential candidate, what would the core idea of your campaign be? The core idea is liberty and representative government. And what we have right now in Washington is a very broken system. What happens right now too often is a few leaders in Congress negotiate with the White House, and they decide everything for everyone. And this leads to a lot of frustration and a lot of partisanship because when Congress can't deliberate actual policies, when you have most members of Congress left out of the process, then they start to debate personalities.

Is it still possible to advance the things you want to talk about as a third-party candidate? It is possible to do that, and the way I'm going to do that is by getting my message out there. And if I do that, I feel confident that people will see that among the three candidates, the one running as a Libertarian Party nominee right now, or seeking the Libertarian Party nomination, is the one who will be the most compelling and qualified candidate of the three.

Do you think your presence in the race will help or hurt either candidate? I think it hurts both candidates. The goal is to win, so you obviously want to take votes from both candidates. There's a huge pool of voters who aren't represented by either of the parties, and a lot of times, they just stay home or they settle for one of the two parties, but they would be happy to vote for someone else if they felt there was another candidate that was compelling.

Have you thought about whether you'd vote for Biden or Trump? I would not vote for Biden or Trump. Getting rid of Donald Trump does not fix the problems because Donald Trump is just a symptom of the problems. The problems will still exist with Joe Biden in the White House.

> *'THE CULTURE OF DONALD TRUMP THAT HAS BECOME DOMINANT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS NOT GOING AWAY ANYTIME SOON'*

TOM WILLIAMS—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

Is there anything that your friends in the Republican Party could do to redeem themselves now in your eyes? I don't think that there's any way to pull them back from where they are. The culture of Donald Trump that has become dominant in the Republican Party is not going away anytime soon. It's probably here for at least a decade. It's a very different tone; it's a very different style. There's not much focus on principles anymore, it's a focus on personality.

What makes you think that there's a viable path for you? When you think about whether Republicans are firmly behind Trump, yes, they're firmly behind Trump because they don't see an alternative. And they view the alternative right now as Joe Biden, and that's not a viable alternative for most Republicans. So there is a path for a third candidate to receive votes from Republicans.

Michigan has been in the news recently for the protests against the governor's coronavirus policies. Can I ask what you made of them? I support people protesting. I support their right to protest. I think people are very upset in Michigan about much of the overreach. I do condemn and denounce things like using Nazi flags or Nazi symbols at protests. Or coming into the state capitol holding weapons in a way that might be intimidating to many people.

What about the protests where folks haven't been adhering to social-distancing practices? It shouldn't happen where people don't keep away from each other by at least 6 ft. I mean, we're hearing from doctors and epidemiologists and others. We should adhere to those guidelines.

—LISSANDRA VILLA

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